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Democratic Party, New Hampshire, Convention, 1828
PROCEEDINGS,

AND

ADDRESS

OF THE

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

OF

DELEGATES FRIENDLY TO THE ELECTION OF

ANDREW JACKSON

TO THE NEXT PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES,

ASSEMBLED AT CONCORD,

JUNE 11 AND 12, 1828.

CONCORD:

PRINTED AT THE PATRIOT OFFICE.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

At a State Convention of Delegates friendly to the election of Gen. ANDREW JACKSON to the Presidency, holden at Concord on the 11th day of June 1828 ; the Convention was called to order at ten o'clock by Hon. D. M. DURELL, who observed that the right of assembling together and discussing questions of great National concern is one of the plainest and most sacred privileges of Freemen.—And we should esteem ourselves unworthy this high privilege, were we meanly to shrink from its exercise when a proper occasion for that exercise should be presented. The public [said Judge D.] are the best judges of such an occasion ;—and if I do not now mistake the indications of public opinion, such an occasion does now present itself, in reference to the approaching Presidential election. Delegated by our fellow citizens, friendly to the election of ANDREW JACKSON, to meet at this place for the purpose of forming an Electoral ticket, to be presented to the people of this State, and to transact such other business as may come before us—we have come up hither ; And the time designated for our assembling, having arrived, I now request that you will come to order,—and take the liberty of nominating Gen. DINSMOOR of Keene as Chairman of this Convention.

This nomination was voted, and Gen. Dinsmoor accordingly took the chair.

The Convention then proceeded to the choice of a President by ballot, and Hon. WILLIAM BADGER of Gilmanston was elected. On being conducted to the chair, Judge Badger addressed the Chairman as follows :

“ Mr. CHAIRMAN—You inform me that I am elected to preside over the deliberations of this very respectable Convention. Permit me, sir, frankly to acknowledge my gratitude for

this distinguished expression of its confidence, and I have only to regret that the choice has not devolved on one who would have discharged the duty with more honor to himself and more satisfaction to the Convention. But sir, such qualifications as I may possess, shall cheerfully be devoted to its service.”

On motion, FRANCIS N. FISK of Concord was elected Secretary, and DUDLEY S. PALMER of Exeter and THOMAS E. SAWYER, of Dover, Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of Mr Greenleaf of Portsmouth, Messrs. Plumer of Epping, Palmer of Dover, Gibson of Frances-town, and Woodbury of Bath, were appointed a committee to receive and examine the credentials of members, and report thereon.

On motion of Mr. Nye of Claremont, Messrs. Cilley of Epsom, Rust of Wolfborough, Bailey of Weare, Sylvester of Charlestown, and Carter of Hanover, were appointed a committee to nominate to the Convention a committee to consist of twenty-five, who shall consider and report what business it is expedient should be acted upon by the Convention, and the mode of proceeding.

Mr. Cilley, from the committee appointed to nominate the committee on business to be acted upon, reported the following gentlemen, viz.

Messrs. Abner P. Stinson, Abner Greenleaf, Moses Dudley, Isaac Hill, Daniel Plumer, Daniel M. Durell, William Prescott, Paul Wentworth, Samuel Cate, George L. Whitehouse, Thomas Chandler, Jesse Bowers, David Stiles, Stephen Peabody, Edward Gould, Silas Angier, David Farnsworth, Ithiel Silsbee, Aldis Lovell, James Chandler, James T. Woodbury, Na-

thaniel S. Berry, Joseph Merrill, Thomas Peverly, jr. and John H. White.

Which was accepted.

The Convention then adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M., at which time it was again called to order.

Mr. Palmer, from the committee appointed to receive and examine the credentials of delegates, reported the following gentlemen as entitled to seats in this Convention.

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Brentwood, Jeremiah Rowe. Deerfield, Thomas Jenness, Samuel Collins. East-Kingston and South-Hampton, Jeremiah Morrill. Epping, Daniel Plummer. Exeter, Dudley S. Palmer, Timothy Gridley. Greenland, Thomas Berry, jr., [sub. William L. Brackett.] Hampstead, Samuel Marshall. Hampton, Tristram Shaw. Kensington, Samuel Shaw. Kingston, Robert Ayer. Londonderry, Ebenezer Whittier. New-Castle, Hall J. Locke. Newington, James Pickering. New-Market, Abner P. Stinson. Newtown, John Bartlett. North-Hampton, Morris Lamprey. Northwood, Nathaniel Durgin. Nottingham, Samuel Dame. Atkinson and Plaistow, Richard Greenough. Poplin, Lyman B. Haskell. Portsmouth, Abner Greenleaf, Daniel P. Drowne, William Claggett, John Leighton, Samuel Cushman. Raymond, Moses Dudley. Rye, Amos Seavey. Sandown, Samuel Pillsbury. Seabrook, Jacob Smith. Stratham, John Scammon.

STRAFFORD COUNTY.

Alton, Samuel Cate. Barnstead, Isaac O. Barnes, N. T. George. Barrington, John M'Daniels, jr. Brookfield, John T. Churchill. Burton and Chatham, Jonathan K. Eastman. Centre-Harbor, Simon Drake. Conway, Thomas S. Abbot. Dover, Daniel M. Durell, Thomas Handerson, Thomas E. Sawyer, Barnabas H. Palmer. Durham, George Hull, Andrew G. Smith. Eaton, Joseph R. Hunt. Effingham, John Colby. Gilman, William Badger, William Prescott, Charles Parker. Farmington, George L. Whitehouse. Gilford, Lyman B. Walker. Lee, Edward B. Nealley. Madbury, Samuel Chesley. Meredith, Stephen Gale, Isaac Currier. Middleton, Jacob R. Pillsbury. Milton, Daniel Hayes, jr. Moul-

tonborough, Thomas Shannon. New-Durham, Reuben Hayes, jr. New-Hampton, John Harper. Ossipee, Peaslee Badger. Rochester, Isaac Jenness, Charles Dennett. Sandbornton, Joseph W. Clement, John Carr. Sandwich, Paul Wentworth, Neal M'Gaffey. Somersworth, Benjamin Hanson, jr., James Martin. Strafford, Amos Tebbetts, Samuel H. Hodgdon. Tamworth, Lewis Folsom. Tuftonborough, John Peavey. Wakefield, Richard Russell. Wolfborough, Henry B. Rust.

MERRIMACK COUNTY

Allenstown, Andrew O. Evans. Andover, Joseph C. Thompson. Boscawen, John Stevens, Joseph Couch, jun. Bow, William Messer. Bradford, Daniel Millen. Canterbury, Joseph Lyford. Chichester, James Blake. Concord, Isaac Hill, Francis N. Fisk. Dunbarton, Edward Gould. Epsom, Daniel Cilley. Fishersfield, Israel Putnam. Henniker, Oliver Noyes, Joshua Colby. Hooksett, Asa Sawyer. Hopkinton, Nathaniel Knowlton, Stephen Darling. Loudon, Stephen Cate. New-London, Moses S. Harvey. Northfield, James Cochran. Pembroke, Aaron Whittemore. Pittsfield, John Jenness. Salisbury, William Pingree. Sutton, Reuben Porter. Warner, Joshua Sawyer, Jonathan E. Dalton. Wilmot, Josiah Stearns.

Hillsborough County.

Amherst, Timothy Danforth. Antrim, Luke Woodbury. Bedford, Ebenezer French. Brookline, Benjamin Shattuck. Deering, William Mc'Keen. Dunstable, Jesse Bowers, D. H. Dean. Francestown, John Gibson. Goffstown, David Barr, Noyes Poor. Greenfield, William Whittemore. Hancock, Lemuel Lakin. Hillsborough, Samuel Kimball. Hollis, Joseph Greeley. Litchfield, Abel Quigg. Lyndeborough, Nehemiah Boutwell. Manchester, Ephraim Stevens, jun. Mason, Josiah Russell. Merrimack, Samuel M'Conihe. Milford, Stephen Peabody. Mont-Vernon, Nathaniel Bruce. New-Boston, Samuel Trull, Elias Dickey (sub.) Pelham, Asa Gage. Peterborough, Daniel Robbe. Sharon, James Law. Temple, David Stiles. Weare, Amos W. Bailey, Hugh Jameson, Job Sargeant (sub.) Wilton, Oliver Whiting. Windsor, Joseph Chapman, jr.

Cheshire County.

Alstead, James Chandler. Chesterfield, Ezekiel P. Pierce. Dublin, Nahum Warren. Gilsum, Aaron Day. Jaffrey, Benjamin Cutler. Keene, Silas Angier, Samuel Dinsmoor. Marlow, William Lewis. Nelson, Oliver Heald. Richmond, Joseph Weeks. Stoddard, Francis Matson. Swanzey, Josiah Woodward. Walpole, Aldis Lovell.

Sullivan County.

Acworth, Ithiel Silsbee. Charlestown, Henry H. Sylvester. Claremont, Jonathan Nye, Timothy S. Gleason. Cornish, Eleazer Jackson. Croydon, John Barton. Goshen, Virgil Chase. Grantham, Robert Scott. Langdon, Samuel Egerton. Newport, Cyrus Barten. Plainfield, Benjamin Cutler. Springfield, Levi Hill. Unity, Harvey Huntoon. Washington, David Farnsworth. Wendell, Samuel Rogers.

Grafton County.

Alexandria, Samuel Cole. Bath, James T. Woodbury. Bethlehem and Franconia, N. Knox. Bridgewater, Joseph Prescott. Bristol, N. S. Berry. Camp-ton, Daniel Southmayd. Danbury and Orange, Samuel Clifford. Enfield, Joseph Merrill. Grafton, Peter Sweatt. Groton, Jonathan Kimball. Hanover, Jacob Carter, John Durkee. Haverhill, Samuel Page. Hebron, Stephen Pilsbury. Landaff, Daniel Clark. Lebanon, Calvin Benton, Samuel Woodbury. Lime, Lewis Cook. Lisbon, Cyrus Barkley. Littleton, William Barkley. Lyman, John Moulton, jun. New-Chester, Samuel Murray. Orford, Henry S. Perrin. Peeling, Samuel Newell. Piermont, James Kent. Plymouth, Benjamin Bailey. Rumney, Simeon Stevens, jun. Thornton, Bradley V. Webster. Warren, Jacob Patch, Wentworth, Aaron Currier.

Coos County.

Adams and Bartlett, Stephen Meserve. Colebrook and Columbia, Lewis Loomis. Jefferson, William Chamberlain. Lancaster, John H. White. Northumberland, Thomas Peverly, jun. Stewartstown, Jeremiah Lovering. Whitefield John M. Gove.

Which report was accepted.

Mr DURELL, from the committee appointed to consider what business is

necessary to be acted upon, made the following report :

The committee appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration the various subjects which it may be expedient to be acted upon by this convention, and to report what in their opinion may be necessary to be done, and the course which is most expedient to be pursued to carry the same into effect, ask leave to report :

That they recommend to the convention to select eight suitable candidates for Electors of President and Vice President; and the whole delegation from each of the eight counties in this state shall each constitute a separate committee to select one candidate from each of said Counties.

They also recommend to the Convention to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for Governor of this state for the year ensuing the March election in 1829, and that the nomination be made by ballot of the Convention.

They further recommend it as expedient to go into the nomination of six candidates for members of Congress, and that the candidates be reported to the Convention by committees, of the delegates from the Counties of Rockingham, Strafford, Merrimack and Hillsborough, one each; from the Counties of Cheshire and Sullivan, one; and from the Counties of Grafton and Coos one.

They further recommend, that a committee of ten be raised to report an Address to the people of this State in relation to the election of President, and that a committee of ten be raised to report resolutions to be adopted by the Convention.

They further recommend, that it is expedient to raise a committee of ten to report ways and means to pay any incidental expenses of this Convention, and for the publication of so much of its proceedings as may be deemed expedient.

Which report was accepted.

On motion of Mr. *Sylvester*, the Convention proceeded to the choice of a committee to report an Address to the People on the subject of the next Presidential Election; and Messrs. Hill of Concord, Claggett and Cushman of

Portsmouth, Durell of Dover, Walker of Gilford, Bowers of Dunstable, Dinsmoor of Keene, Nye of Claremont, Durkee of Hanover, and Barton of Newport, were appointed.

On motion, Messrs. Greenleaf of Portsmouth, Palmer of Exeter, Barnes of Barnstead, Prescott of Gilmanton, Nealley of Lee, Peabody of Milford, French of Bedford, Matson of Stoddard, Woodbury of Bath, and Peverly of Northumberland, were appointed a committee to draft resolutions.

On motion of Mr. Dinsmoor, the Convention proceeded by ballot to select a candidate to be supported as Governor of this State at the next annual election. Whole number of ballots 188. Hon. Benjamin Pierce had 160; Hon. Matthew Harvey 27; scattering 1. Hon. BENJAMIN PIERCE having a majority of the ballots, was declared the candidate.

On motion of Mr. Greenleaf, Messrs. Drowne of Portsmouth, Badger of Ossipee, Whittemore of Greenfield, and Boutwell of Lyndeborough, were appointed a committee to wait on Gen. Pierce at his residence, and inform him of the foregoing nomination, and receive his answer, and report to the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Nye, Messrs. Whittemore of Pembroke, Wentworth of Sandwich, Gale of Meredith, Peavy of Tuftonborough, Locke of New-Castle, Danforth of Amherst, Stevens of Manchester, Weeks of Richmond, Angier of Keene, Merrill of Enfield, were appointed a committee to report ways and means to pay the incidental expenses of the Convention, and for the publication of its proceedings.

Adjourned to meet at ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1828.

Met according to adjournment.

The County Committees reported severally as follows:

CANDIDATES FOR ELECTORS.

Rockingham,	JOHN HARVEY.
Strafford,	BENNING M. BEAN.
Merrimack,	WILLIAM PICKERING.
Hillsborough,	BENJAMIN PIERCE.
Cheshire,	AARON MATSON.
Sullivan,	JONATHAN NYE.
Grafton,	STEPH'N P. WEBSTER.
Coos,	MOSES WHITE.

Which several reports were read and accepted.

The same Committees severally reported as follows:

Candidates for Representatives to Congress.

Rockingham,	JOHN BRODHEAD.
Strafford,	JOSEPH HAMMONS.
Merrimack,	JONATHAN HARVEY.
Hillsborough,	THOMAS CHANDLER.
Cheshire,	HENRY HUBBARD.
Graft. & Coos,	JOHN W. WEEKS.

Which several reports were read and accepted.

Mr. Greenleaf, from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That we entertain an exalted opinion of the talents, integrity, clearness of perception and firmness of purpose, which have characterised ANDREW JACKSON: that we deem him eminently qualified to fill the exalted station of Chief Magistrate of these United States, and will contribute our best endeavours to promote his election.

2. *Resolved*, That the distinguished talents and eminent services of JOHN C. CALHOUN, Vice President of the United States, render him highly deserving the continued confidence of the people, and we will make every honorable effort to effect his re-election.

3. *Resolved*, That the public services of the Hon. LEVI WOODBURY, our Senator in Congress, since the commencement of his term of service, are held in high estimation by the Democratic Republicans of this State, and entitle him to their approbation and thanks.

4. *Resolved*, That the Hon. JONATHAN HARVEY, one of our Representatives in Congress, has in a very faithful manner performed his official duties, and deserves the renewed expression of the confidence of his constituents.

5. *Resolved*, That in our opinion the present administration of the United States has squandered the public money to a large amount; that it is characterised by a loose construction of the Constitution, and has shaped its whole course with a single eye to its security in power.

6. *Resolved*, That the attempt at what is called an amalgamation of pe-

litical parties is, in our opinion, but a subtle attempt, originating with the fallen federalists, to divide and thus conquer the Democratic party.

7 *Resolved*, That the toast of *Josiah Quincy*, the friend and relative of *John Q. Adams* (the same Josiah Quincy, who in Congress moved the impeachment of THOMAS JEFFERSON) given in Boston immediately after the election of *John Q. Adams* to the Presidency, to wit; "*the political regeneration: those, who fell with Adams the first, shall rise with Adams the second*"—ought to open the eyes of every sincere friend of the democratic cause.

8. *Resolved*, That we would pardon private injuries; but the conduct of the federal party during the last war, in aiding and assisting a foreign foe against our common country, we never can forget, and never will forgive while such conduct is attempted to be justified.

9. *Resolved*, That as ANDREW JACKSON, at the last Presidential election, with no concert of action, but by an unprompted feeling of preference, received fifteen electoral votes more, than any other candidate (which number of electors represented full half a million of people) we speak the truth when we say he was then the candidate of the people, and we reason rightly when we conclude he will be such at the coming election.

10. *Resolved*, That Mr. Adams probably gave his unbiassed opinion of ANDREW JACKSON, when in his reply to the committee that informed him of his election to the Presidency, he spoke of JACKSON, as one "justly enjoying, in "an eminent degree, the PUBLIC FAVOUR, "and of whose worth, talents and services, no one entertained a higher "and more respectful sense, than himself, and whose name is closely associated with the glory of the nation," the same Andrew Jackson, whom Mr. Adams' friends with characteristic consistency now denounce, as a murderer, adulterer and tyrant.

The resolutions were read, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. DROWNE, from the committee appointed to wait on the Hon. BENJAMIN PIERCE, and inform him of his nomination as the Democratic Republi-

can candidate for Governor to be supported at the March election in 1829—reported, that the committee had waited on him at Hillsborough, and received for answer that he would be at the disposal of his fellow citizens as a candidate for that office:—that to the suggestion that it had been contemplated to nominate him as a candidate for Elector of President and Vice President, if the Convention should do so, he must decline that offer, inasmuch as it might be improper that he should be a candidate for two important offices at the same time.

Voted by the Convention, that the Hillsborough Delegation present to this Convention a candidate for Elector of President and Vice President to supply the place of Hon. BENJAMIN PIERCE, who declines.

Adjourned to two o'clock, P. M.

Met according to adjournment.

Mr. PEABODY, from the committee appointed to nominate a candidate for Elector for Hillsborough, reported the Hon. JESSE BOWERS of Dunstable to fill that vacancy. Which report was accepted.

Mr. HILL, from the Committee appointed for that purpose, reported an ADDRESS to the people of this State, which was read and adopted.

On motion of Mr. DURELL,

Resolved, That the Republicans in the several Representative and Electoral Districts in the State, as designated by a vote of this Convention, friendly to the election of ANDREW JACKSON, be authorized to hold District Conventions at such times and places as they may deem proper, to fill such vacancies as may happen in the Electoral or Representative tickets, to be presented to the people of this State by this Convention.

The following Resolution was laid on the table by Mr. CUSHMAN of Portsmouth, read, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the members of this Convention be presented to THE PRESIDENT for the able, dignified and impartial manner in which he has presided over its deliberations during the present session.

To which the President replied:

"Gentlemen of the Convention—On being conducted to this Chair, it was and has been my intention to pursue

an impartial and independent course. If I have been so successful in that intention as in any degree to have merited your approbation and thanks, my most sanguine wishes have been realized. Gentlemen, the amicable, conciliatory and dignified course you have pursued, and the respectful and able assistance you have afforded to the chair, has made the duty easy and pleasant, for which you have my sincere and respectful thanks; and as we are now about to separate, Gentlemen, I wish you a pleasant journey home to your friends, and a happy interview with your families."

On motion of Mr. Greenleaf,
Messrs. Isaac Hill, Matthew Harvey, Daniel M. Durell, Daniel C. Atkinson, Richard H. Ayer, Lyman B. Walker, Francis N. Fisk, Dudley S. Palmer, Robert Davis and John Townsend were appointed a Committee of Correspondence, &c.

On motion of Mr. DURELL,
Voted, That this Convention be dissolved.

WILLIAM BADGER, President.
FRANCIS N. FISK, Secretary.

ADDRESS

To the People of New-Hampshire.

THE history of all governments furnishes ample demonstration that in every country there have existed two great political distinctions or parties—that *might* has constantly been warring against *right*—that "power is always stealing from the many to the few" In despotic governments, it has ever been the policy of the few to keep the many in ignorance, so that power could be effectually grasped; and in governments controlled by the voice of the people, the exertions of the few have been untiring, first to cheat the people by every species of deception, and afterwards, gradually to impair those rights and privileges on which a free government is based.

Our fathers of the revolution successfully contended against the arbitrary rule of the mother country, whose government insisted on the right which the master exercises over the slave—on the right to tax us without our consent—on the right of the governor to perpetuate his power against the voice of the governed. The despotism of the few was then put down, and the rights of the people established by their valor: the invaders of our soil were repelled, and the shackles of a foreign tyrant were thrown off. The nation breathed the pure and unsullied air of freedom. But the evil genius of Aristocracy, which discovered itself in the abettors

of British tyranny, the tories of the revolution, still lurked amongst us. Scarcely fourteen years elapsed after the close of the revolution, before the administration of the government of the people was in the hands of men who contemned the rights of the people—scarcely fifteen years had elapsed, before the rulers delegated by this free people, attempted by the passage of laws to throw around them those arbitrary restraints which, had they not been early arrested, must have created a tyranny at home not less destructive to all free principles, than the shackles which were contemplated by the tyrant from abroad.

It will not be denied by any republican, that the principles which characterized the administration of John Adams—an administration styled, by way of eminence, "the reign of terror"—were the same in essence as the principles contended for by the British parliament. The "Sedition law," which made it a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment, to call in question any act, or to speak, write or print any thing disrespectful, or in disapprobation of the President, was founded on the same arbitrary principle, as was that declaration by the British parliament of the right to tax us without our consent—to enact laws imposing arbitrary

regulations on a people who were not allowed to have a voice in making those laws. The "Alien law," of the same administration, which invested the President with power, on his own mere motion, to banish any foreigner from the country who should be obnoxious to his displeasure, savoured not less of tyranny than the most arbitrary law of the most arbitrary despot. The same administration attempted to perpetuate its power by creating a host of useless officers, whose influence was intended and expected to operate through every grade of society—by creating a standing army in time of peace, which could have been intended only to overawe the people—by imposing taxes and heavy burdens on the people, intended to break down their spirit and to discourage their confidence in the value of our civil institutions—by holding up to public scorn and derision all who contended for economy and retrenchment of unnecessary expenses—and by forcing the people to wear that arbitrary badge of fealty to the powers that be, the "black cockade"!

In the Alien and Sedition laws of John Adams, the spirit of the Constitution was violated—the principles of free government were trampled upon.—Those patriots who stood by the principles of the revolution were persecuted and proscribed. But the people, alarmed by the encroachments of the men in power—alarmed that the tory adherents of Britain in the revolution had assumed the control, and that the best patriots of the country who had fought and bled to procure independence, were no longer cherished by the administration; the sovereign people arose in the majesty of their strength and expelled from office the men who had abused their trust. On the fourth day of March, 1801, John Adams retired from the Presidential office, amidst the frowns of an indignant people; and Thomas Jefferson, the man of whom John Adams declared in his letter to Cunningham in 1804, "I shudder at the calamities which I fear his conduct is preparing for his country"—was invested with the Presidential office. Under the new administration, a new order of things immediately commenced. Instead of a sedition law, free

discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press were restored: the alien law was abolished. Instead of a useless standing army, a retinue of useless officers, and an increased public debt on *eight per cent.* loans; the public expenses were lessened and the debt was rapidly discharged—the standing army and the hordes of useless officers were abolished.

In his official communication to Congress, Mr. Jefferson held the following language :

"These views are formed on the expectation that a sensible, and, at the same time, a *salutary reduction*, may take place in our *habitual expenditures*. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army, and navy, will need revisal. When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these States; that the States themselves have the principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our *organization is not too complicated, too expensive—whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily*, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement of those, who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the Treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and too remote to be completely traced in a first trial. Among those who are dependent on *executive discretion*, I have begun the *reduction* of what was deemed unnecessary. *The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished.* The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued. *Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed;* and should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to *subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction.* Other *reforms* of the same kind will be pursued, with that caution which is requisite in removing useless things not to injure what is re-

tained. But the great mass of public offices is established by law, and, therefore, by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and try all its parts by the *test of public utility*, they may be assured of *every aid and light which executive information can yield*. Considering the general tendency to *multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense* to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behooves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it never may be seen *here*, that after leaving to labor the smallest portion of its earnings, on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard. In our care, too, of the public contributions intrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by *appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition; by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation in object, or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single Department, all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious, and uniform.*"

Such were the doctrines of that great apostle of liberty, the illustrious Jefferson—doctrines which were long practised under his administration and those of his successors; but which now seem to have been forgotten by many claiming affinity to the republican party.

To trace the covert windings of the party which adhered to John Adams, from the reign of 1798 up to the present moment, would extend this address to a great length. At times, that party has taken the open field, and fought with a desperation bordering on madness, denouncing every thing republican—every act of our republican administration. The private character of Jefferson was assailed in vulgar prose and libidinous verse; and every stigma which falsehood could invent was laid on the *individual* to cast reproach on the *principles* for which republicans contended. But when those principles,

when the glorious cause of democracy, became predominant, and so triumphant as to defy the open assaults of their enemies, the vindictive Aristocracy, under the pretext of laying down their arms, have waged against them a more successful, because a more insidious warfare. The name of federalist, under which the Aristocracy at first were proud to rally, became so obnoxious, even before Mr. Jefferson left the office of President, that other convenient names or appellations were assumed by this party, as the circumstances or the times would favor its views. When a British commander, at New-York, wantonly fired on an American vessel and killed the American seaman, Pierce, and when a British squadron attacked the American frigate Chesapeake, under the pretext of claiming British seamen, the Aristocracy were vociferous for war—they reproached the administration with pusillanimity—they declared "our government could not be kicked into a war"—they were then the avowed *friends of the nation's rights*. When the administration, forced to the alternatives of either paying tribute to Britain, of war, or an embargo, to save the remnant of our commerce, resorted to the latter measure, the Aristocracy were the *friends of free and unrestricted trade!* they would leave our ships and our seamen to take care of themselves. But when the nation, goaded and driven to the utmost verge of endurance—when thousands of our citizens, impressed on board of British ships, were compelled to fight her battles—when our ships and commerce were seized and confiscated under illegal orders in council—when the nation, driven to the last resort, was compelled to declare war; then the Aristocracy were the *friends of peace!* In this character these boasted friends of peace were guilty of deeds, at the recital of which their posterity will blush; and ever since that disgrace, they have renounced the name of *federalist*, as not less odious than that of *tory*, which fastened on the adherents of Britain at the era of the revolution.

An "era of good feelings" succeeded the treaty of Ghent, after the accession of James Monroe to the Presidency. This eminent citizen, like his pre-

decessor, James Madison, had been peculiarly a subject of federal obloquy, ever since the year 1800 : at that time governor of Virginia, he was reproached in all the bitter vindictiveness of ultra federalism ; and during the last two years of the late war he was conspicuous, from the situation he held in the government, as a mark for the arrows from the quiver of the federal party. It was this abuse that greatly recommended him to the republicans as a candidate who could stem the torrent when Mr. Madison retired. After his inauguration, Mr. Monroe visited the Northern States ; and strange as it may seem, such was the desire of the Aristocracy to conciliate the favor of the man whom they had recently abused, that they alone claimed the right to offer him their congratulations ; and in many towns, indeed in all the towns where the federal party was predominant, the republican friends of Mr. Monroe, who had assisted to sustain the administration of which he had been a member, and the cause of the country, were studiously shut out of the committees appointed to do public honors to the President of the United States ! The crafty Aristocracy, proclaiming an "era of good feelings,"* so contrived to manage the occasion of that visit, as to place on the footing of strangers to Mr. Monroe, the old republicans with whom alone he could claim affinity of feeling, and who alone had encountered with him the bitter hate and animosity of his present flatterers. Strange, indeed, it may not be considered, that the President was partially caught in a snare so artfully set : all appeared fair and smooth on the exterior, although there were many republicans who then perfectly understood what was meant. It would not be wise to conceal that these personal flatteries accomplished every thing the flatterers intended. Although the change of the administration was not immediate, the foundation was then laid

which has since, in the election of the second Adams, restored to power the party which fell with the first Adams : a foundation was then laid for that craven "Amalgamation," which more effectually subserves the hidden purposes of mischief-making federalism than any other plot with which the Aristocracy have disgraced themselves since the termination of the "reign of terror."

Mr. Monroe, from that moment, looked with a more favorable eye on the men of the Hartford Convention. To that fallen party was then united all others in office or who desired office, whose object was more to serve themselves than the public : to that party was then united all such as would feed from the public crib ; all who advocated sinecures and high salaries ; all who had adopted the doctrine that it was no sin to filch from the public coffers, and that the benefits of government were intended for the governors, and not the governed. Such is the materiel of which the present amalgamation party is composed—the almost entire body of the federal party, at least that portion of the federal party which is ready to resort to any means, even the most dishonorable means, to regain power, united with all that is false and unprincipled, all who would sell their political rectitude, for the loaves and fishes of office. Mr. Monroe, indeed, never fully gave in to the views of this party : he, probably, intended to sustain his democratic rectitude ; but the fawnings and flatteries of his old political enemies, with the false show of oblivion to old party feelings which they took occasion to exhibit before the public, and especially before him, gave to his administration a complexion and a character which paved the way for that division in the republican ranks resulting in the formation of an administration of the highest Aristocratic character—an administration not less consonant to the wishes and desires of the Aristocracy, than was that of the first Adams.

Never was deception more artfully or more successfully practised, than that practised by the Adams family on the people of the United States. Participating in the revolution, being one of those who subscribed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, it was placed in the power of John Adams to

* *Extract from the Address of Hon. Thomas W. Thompson, to President Monroe, in Concord, July 1817.*

"Upon this auspicious occasion, party feelings are buried, and buried, we hope, forever. A new era, we trust, is commencing. The leading measures of the General Government accord remarkably with the views and principles of all parties."

take a conspicuous stand in the councils of our country as a Patriot and a Statesman. On a close review of his writings and his life, we are constrained to say that he *never was a friend to republican government*—that all his professions of attachment to republican men and measures were hollow-hearted and insincere. In saying this, we have no reason to doubt that he honestly opposed the tyranny of Great-Britain at the outset of the revolution: he, probably, desired independence: but he was one of those, who, having gained independence, wished a government of the well-born to be here instituted. Accordingly, we find him, while in Europe, even before our present Constitution was adopted, writing and publishing a book in favor of monarchy, in which he pronounced the British Constitution to be “the most stupendous fabric of human invention.” In this work, entitled “A Defence of the American Constitution,” he says—“In every State there are *inequalities* which God and Nature have implanted there,” “particularly, *inequalities of birth*”—that “the people in all nations are naturally divided into *gentlemen and simplemen*”—that “the *poor* are destined to labor, and the *rich* are qualified for *superior stations*”—that “it is the true policy of the common people to place the *whole executive power in one man*”—that “the good sense of the people of the United States will dictate to them, *by a new Convention*, to make transitions to a *nearer resemblance to the British Constitution*.” We find him afterwards, while Vice President of the United States, declaring to John Langdon (as is proved by the letter of that deceased patriot to Mr. Ringgold,) that “*the people of America will not be happy without an hereditary Chief Magistrate and Senate, or at least for life*.” We find him, afterwards, while President of the United States, practising on these doctrines by introducing into his administration, wherever it was in his power, the paraphernalia of monarchical governments—by excluding from office many sterling patriots of the revolution, and by calling around him, as his advisers, the rankest aristocrats—by recommending and sanctioning laws encroaching on the rights of the people, calculated to restrain

the liberty of speech and of the press, in discussing the conduct of public men and the character of public measures, and likewise calculated to perpetuate power in the hands of an overbearing aristocracy.

Writing to his relative, Cunningham, Jan. 16, 1804, John Adams, quoting another, says—“I have always been of opinion, that in popular governments, the people will always choose their officers from the most ancient and respectable families. * * * If a family that has been high in office and splendid in wealth, falls into decay, from profligacy, folly, vice, or misfortune, they generally turn democrats and court the lowest of the people with an ardor, an art, a skill, and consequently, with a success, which no vulgar democrat can attain.” Mr. Adams, although himself then an old man, did not think it too late, three years afterwards, seeing no prospect of promotion from the federal party, to bolt outright from his party. During those three years, himself and his son, who, we shall perceive hereafter, was faithfully educated in the school of his father, continued to express their contempt for sterling republican patriots: the latter, so late as 1807, wrote his famous vulgar verses ridiculing Mr. Jefferson, making as a subject of his raillery the purchase of Louisiana, against the acquisition of which, he had voted on every question brought before the Senate of the United States, of which he was a member.

The father and son turned democrats in 1807. John Q. Adams became an open convert (no “vulgar democrat,”) in the latter part of that year, a few months after he presided at a Junto Federal Caucus in Boston, which nominated Caleb Strong as Governor, and Christopher Gore as Senator in Massachusetts; and he played his court to Mr. Jefferson and the people on that occasion “with an ardor, an art, a skill, and consequently with a success, which no vulgar democrat could attain.” So great was his *ardor*, his *art* and his *skill* on that occasion, that even William B. Giles, of Virginia, one of the most sagacious men in the country—a politician who has scarcely ever mistaken any man’s real character—acknowledg-

es that he then believed him sincere. And if Mr. Giles was then deceived, as he now acknowledges, it cannot at all surprise us that the people were then deceived as to the real character of the Adams' conversion. The following extract from a late number of the Telegraph, published at the seat of government, under the eye of Mr. Adams, will furnish some idea of Mr. Adams' conversion :

" Gov. Giles, in his late patriotic address to the public, gives the following extract from a letter written to him by Mr. Jefferson.

" Mr. Jefferson said :

" You ask my opinions on the propriety of giving publicity to what is stated in your letter, as having passed between Mr. John Q. Adams, and yourself. Of this, no one can judge but yourself. It is one of those questions which belong to the forum of feeling. This alone can decide on the degree of confidence, implied in the disclosure. Whether under no circumstances, it was to be communicable to others. It does not seem to be of that character or at all to wear that aspect. They are historical facts, which belong to the present, as well as future, times. I doubt, whether a single fact known to the world, will carry as clear a conviction with it, of the correctness of our knowledge of the *treasonable views of the federal party* of that day, as that disclosed by this most nefarious and daring attempt to *dissever the Union*, of which the Hartford Convention was a subsequent chapter, and both of these having failed, consolidation became the first book of their history."

" On the above, Gov. Giles, in a letter which appeared in a late Richmond Enquirer, among other things, thus remarks :

" Hence the following facts evidently appear: that Mr. Adams made the disclosure to me, of his intending to desert the federal party the winter of 1807, 1808—to the best of my recollection, it was a short time previous to the first embargo. That it was made under the most solemn assurances of his patriotism and disinterestedness, and of entire exemption from all views of per-

sonal promotion by the party, to which he has proselyted. Mr. Jefferson states the grounds of this charge, as communicated by Mr. Adams himself, to be *the treasonable views of the federal party, and that these treasonable views extended to disunion*. All that now remains to be disclosed to the public, to give a full view of the whole ground of this eventful transaction is, to *designate the particular conspiracy on the part of the federalists of that day, 1807, which did induce Mr. Adams to charge them, according to Mr. Jefferson's statement, with treasonable views to dissever the Union; the particular foreign agents with whom it was carried on, the particular circumstances which gave rise to it, and the particular portions of the federalists implicated in the treasonable negotiations then on foot*. Mr. Adams can state these facts to the public if he should think proper to do so; or if, which I should suppose impossible, he should deny them; then ought he to tell, what other political sins the federal party had committed, of so heinous a character as to justify his open, formal and sudden abandonment of them in their utmost need, and in his adhesion to their opponents—indeed, in the true spirit of proselytism, his going to the uttermost extremes in supporting his newly chosen associates, and his fulsome flatteries of Mr. Jefferson, through his extravagant commendation of this measure, and that too, not long after he had heaped upon Mr. Jefferson, all kinds of abuse, and even called dog-grel verse, as is said, to his aid for the purpose. Now suppose it should turn out, that *no such conspiracy did exist, and that no treasonable negotiations were carrying on, no treasonable views were entertained by the federalists at that time, 1807, what must the world think of such treacherous charges against his old friends for his own personal aggrandizement, as is now rendered evident, directly against his own solemn avowals—(and I acknowledge I was deluded into a perfect confidence in his disclosures)—I now sincerely believe, that the whole of these charges against the federalists were unfounded, and consisted only in Mr. Adams' own mental misgivings and poetic licenses*. For me, this conviction is sufficient; and I shall not vote for Mr. Adams for my President. Others,

of course, will also act as they think best."

Those who have been in the habit of hearing the *free conversations* of Gov. Plumer of this State, who, whatever may have been his political changes, has always been as John Q. Adams was, and who cast a solitary vote for Mr. Adams, the only vote against Mr. Monroe in all the electoral colleges of 1820—must have heard him revert to this knowledge of Mr. Adams of the treasonable designs of certain leading federalists. But notwithstanding this knowledge of treasonable designs, the father in a letter to Cunningham, bearing date Dec. 13, 1808, more than a year after the family conversion, gives as a reason why John Q. Adams was averse to being run by the republicans of Massachusetts for the office of Governor—"Because it would produce an eternal separation between him and the federalists; at least, that part of them which constitute the absolute oligarchy."!

Mr. J. Q. Adams, it will not be concealed, is at this time a favorite of the federalists. His accusations made against the leaders of that party to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Giles in a manner so serious and solemn as then to extort from them a belief in their truth, were either true or false. If *true*, what excuse can be offered for Mr. Adams in now taking to his confidence and his embraces the most incorrigible men of that party? If *false*, how can these federalists now follow their accuser as a leader, and fawn around the traitor who stabbed them in the dark? Mr. Adams offers no denial—no excuse or apology for his disclosure to Messrs. Jefferson and Giles: although he has frequently, while Secretary of State, and since he has been President, come before the public on more trivial subjects, he is silent on this. A more respectable authority could not be given as his accuser; yet we venture to affirm he will never further explain to the public his knowledge of the treasonable designs of the federal party!

In further proof that Mr. Adams' conversion to republicanism was hollow hearted and insincere, we quote the following charge: About the same time he made his communication to Messrs. Jefferson and Giles, "at the table of an

illustrious citizen, he *lamented* the fearful progress of the democratic party, and of its principles, and declared that "He had long meditated the subject, and had become convinced, that the only method by which the democratic party could be destroyed, was by *JOINING WITH IT*, and urging it on with the utmost energy to the completion of its views, whereby the result would prove so ridiculous and so ruinous to the country, that the people would be led to despise the principles and condemn the effects of democratic policy, and then (said he,) *we may have a form of government better suited to the genius and disposition of our country, than the present Constitution.*" " (See Note A.)

We have said that Mr. J. Q. Adams was educated in the political school of his father: when he changed his politics and made pretensions of attachment to the republican party, he was not more republican than his father assumed to be. We have shown the aristocratic propensities of the father, as evinced in his writings and declarations. Those propensities have not been less marked with a decisive character in the writings of the son. The commencement of his political career, was in the same strain as that of the father. In a series of essays published in the Boston Centinel so early as 1792, he contended for the same aristocratic doctrines—that "*all the power of the people ought to be delegated for their benefit*"—that "*the people of England have delegated all their power to the King, Lords and Commons,*" and that the British Government is "*the admiration of the world*"! If the conversion of J. Q. Adams in 1807, had been sincere, his subsequent declarations would prove that he has since returned to his first love for monarchy; for in his letter to Levitt Harris, written during the last war, and while he was charging and receiving for double outfits and salaries and for constructive journeys, he declared our republican government to be "*feeble and penurious*"; (see Note B.) and after he had been placed in the office of President, in defiance of the expressed wishes of the people of Kentucky by the votes of the representatives of that State—after he had obtained that elevated situation by the "*understanding*"

that if he should be elected President by the vote and influence of a Kentucky representative, that representative should be appointed the second officer in the administration—he advances, in his first message to Congress, the aristocratical doctrine, that the representative ought “*not to be palsied by the will of his constituents*,” lest it “*doom*” our government to a “*perpetual inferiority*” to “*governments less blessed with freedom*.” From the year 1803, to the year 1807, he was in the United States Senate; and all that time he never gave a republican vote on any party question: he voted constantly against every question for adding Louisiana to the United States—he voted against a proposition to prevent the importation of slaves into that territory. In his writings, he called Jefferson the “Islam of Democracy,” as much as to say he was an artful impostor; and but a few months before his conversion, he ridiculed in pitiful rhyme the author of the Declaration of independence, on the false accusation of unlawful amours with “Dusky Sally.” So far from regretting his old attachment to the aristocratic party—his opposition and abuse of the Democratic party—as late as 1822, in his correspondence with Alexander Smyth, he vindicated his votes on the Louisiana treaty, charged Congress with usurpation for legislating over that country, and maintained that it was unconstitutionally added to the United States!

Although it is a matter of sincere regret we are obliged to admit the fact, it is not the less important that fact should be stated, that artful demagogues who have changed sides, men who, yesterday, were flaming federalists, and, to-day, are *moderate* republicans, have found too much favor and been too hastily received into our ranks. Such men, having “turned democrats,” have generally “courted the people with an ardor, an art, a skill, and consequently, with a success, which no vulgar democrat (that is, no democrat who acts purely from principle,) can attain.” We have before us many living examples; and in the cases of men whose object has been the mere attainment of office, nine out of ten, he who has been gained to our cause **has afterwards doubly injured us by the**

grossest duplicity and treachery. The case of John Q. Adams, now before us, is one of the most striking. Being of a family more “high in office” than any which ever before apostatized from the federal party, his “art and skill, and consequently his success” have outstripped all other examples in this country. With the aid of his father, he has looked further ahead in all his plans of personal aggrandizement than any other political adventurer in this Republic.

His political life has proved that he has practised most successfully on the now fashionable doctrine of the federalists, that “all is fair in politics.” The “art and skill” of his father, after the measures of his administration had become obnoxious to the people, in throwing the blame on Hamilton, Ames, Pickering and other federalists who participated in that administration, paved the way for the reception of both the older and the younger Adams into the republican ranks; and when the somerset was finally accomplished, the same “art and skill” are again visible in the choice made by the younger Adams of Pickering for an antagonist, when he fought himself into the favor of the democrats by seizing on a popular subject, and contending for that measure of the then existing administration which was intended to compel the British government to acknowledge American rights on the ocean. Whenever Mr. Adams’ *republican* attachments have been doubted, his friends have deemed it a conclusive answer to refer us to his letter to Harrison Gray Otis, in answer to that of Timothy Pickering, in which he (Adams,) defended the Embargo, and to his review of the works of Fisher Ames, published about the time of his conversion, in which he only condemns those doctrines in the latter, which were consonant with the repeatedly avowed doctrines of his own family.

These devices, like that of the avowal to Jefferson and Giles of the discovery of a treasonable plot to dis sever the Union among the leading federalists, were calculated to inspire confidence in the republicans as to the sincerity of the conversion of the Adams family. The younger Adams expected immediate payment for his apostacy to the fed-

eral party. But Mr. Jefferson was cautious and guarded, and did not, during his administration, bestow any of those honors which Mr. Adams thought his disinterested services merited. Accordingly we find his father writing privately to his friend Cunningham, Feb. 14, 1809—"If his (John Q. Adams') talents and integrity *continue to be neglected*, as they have been insulted, *the fault is not his*." And when, some time afterwards, after fruitless attempts to get some appointment, he obtained from Mr. Madison a mission to Russia, the father then writes to Cunningham—"Aristides is banished, *because he is too just*: he will not leave an honest or an abler man behind him" It is evident, that the family then considered no office, short of the first in the government, was sufficient to pay him for his apostacy. But Mr. Adams, "banished" as he was, made the best of this place, contriving at the same time he replenished his purse by holding on to double compensations, to stay in Europe until an opportunity should offer to embark, at home, in the line of "safe precedents." He returned from *banishment* and accepted the office of Secretary of State under Mr. Monroe. In this situation, he availed himself not only of the immense influence which the office gave him, but of a variety of other incidents, to further his ambitious views. He had been withdrawn from the agitations of the late war at home: he was not, therefore, obnoxious to the displeasure of the federal party on that account; while he claimed the favor of the republicans for his ardent zeal in their cause at the time of the embargo. He saw he was not a favorite of the great body of the republicans of the Union; and hence his first political act was to conciliate the men of the old Hartford Convention by appointing Benjamin Russell to print the laws of the United States—a man who had stigmatized the illustrious patriots, Jefferson and Madison, as "French citizens," and "disciples and fellow-laborers in the same cause with their friend, the imperial butcher of the human race!" His only hope was to "divide and conquer" the republican party; and hence, while he kept himself aloof, his friends, the federalists, threw into Congress the

fire-brand which was calculated to arouse the North against the South—to awaken a mutual jealousy and hatred as unforgiving and cruel as the grave, among the slave and non-slave holding States. The Missouri slave question carried the hostile feeling to the highest pitch, for two or more sessions of Congress; and when the asperity was stilled by the admission in favor of Missouri, that Congress had, by the Constitution, no right to interfere, Mr. Adams himself, to conciliate his friends in the slave-holding States, authorized the informal admission, that he too was of opinion it was beyond the authority of Congress to legislate on the subject! An "art and a skill" was manifested on this subject by Mr. Adams and his friends, which, while it left no responsibility on him, innoculated that poison into the public mind which was calculated to subserve fully the objects of the Websters, the Hopkinsons and other politicians, who, at first, artfully kindled the flame.

The plan to "keep up the division" was artfully pursued during the whole of the last four years of Mr. Monroe. Jefferson, Madison and Monroe had each been successively designated for the office of President at open meetings of the republican members of Congress; and this method was relied on by those who were sincerely desirous of continuing the unity of the republican party. The example had been sanctioned by Mr. Adams himself, who attended the meeting of Senators and Representatives soon after his conversion, which first nominated Mr. Madison; but such a nomination, at this time, did not suit the convenience of Mr. Adams—he declared against this mode of nomination—that he would not accept the office, if designated as a candidate by a caucus of the members of Congress. A combination was immediately entered upon by his friends and the friends of other sectional candidates, to prevent any nomination by the members of Congress: the New-Hampshire delegation was called together by Mr. Senator Bell, and each was required to give the other a pledge that he would not go into convention to designate a candidate for President. It was boldly avowed, in the papers friendly to

Mr. Adams, that their object was to prevent the choice of any candidate by the people, and to bring the question to be ultimately decided by the House of Representatives by States, where thirty-six representatives would have it in their power to control the votes of two hundred and thirteen representatives—and where the one representative of Missouri would have the same weight as the thirty-four representatives of New-York—where, in fine, as was predicted by the friends of Mr. Clay in Kentucky, the question might ultimately be carried by “bargain, intrigue and management.”

It is worthy of remark here, that it was the friends of Mr. Adams—nay, it may be said to have been Mr. Adams himself, who first put forward Andrew Jackson as a candidate for the Presidency; for it was his own authorized Journal at Washington which then advocated the cause of the General—a paper which now daily pours the vilest abuse on the head of the hero “who has filled the measure of his country’s glory.” Mr. Adams and his friends did not suppose, when they at first set forward Gen. Jackson, that he would be a formidable rival to him—he was set up to “divide and conquer” in those States where Mr. Adams could obtain few votes against Mr. Crawford—he was set forward to prevent a choice by the people; and, such was his popularity with the people, although the station was unsought by Gen. Jackson personally—such was the high estimation in which he was held, that those who set him forward, as we have good reason to believe, deplored the effects of their own trick: indeed, what they intended as a *ruse de guerre*, was taken by the people, after Mr. Crawford’s lamented illness, so much in earnest, that the friends of Mr. Adams trembled for the result. Jackson obtained ninety-nine unbought electoral votes, while Adams himself obtained only eighty-four; and of these twenty-six were given in New-York by a “bargain” in the Legislature of that State with the friends of Henry Clay, without consulting the wishes of the people of that State.

It is believed the proceedings of the friends of Mr. Adams, in and out of Congress, to frustrate a choice of President

by the people, to be without a parallel in the history of our elections; and to accomplish this object the management at Washington was as constant and untiring, as it was unprincipled. The influence of the existing administration was directed against Mr. Crawford, and in favor of Gen. Jackson only so far as to prevent the ultimate success of Mr. Crawford. It was a game of calculation on the part of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, who was each for himself. Up to the time of the voting of the Electoral Colleges, these two gentlemen had been most bitter personal and political enemies. The publications of both the gentlemen in 1822, under their own signatures, prove that there was a secret hatred existing between them while negotiating the peace at Ghent: Mr. Clay then promised the public that he would, “at some time more propitious than the present, lay before the public a narrative of those transactions as *he* understood them;” and Mr. Adams answered, that as Mr. Clay’s narrative may “*chance to be postponed* until both of us shall have been summoned to account for all our errors, before a higher tribunal than that of our country, I feel myself now called upon to say, that let the appropriate dispositions, when and how they will, expose the open day and secret night of the transactions at Ghent, the statements both of fact and opinion in the papers which I have written and published, in relation to this controversy, will, in every particular, essential or important to the interests of the nation or to the character of Mr. Clay, be found to abide unshaken, the test of human scrutiny, of talents and of time.” Mr. Clay, in his published article, had hinted at some “errors” of Mr. Adams, (“unintentional no doubt;”) and the tenor of both publications left us not without the inference that there was a deep grudge between the two statesmen. But the evidence developed by a recent investigation before the Senate of Kentucky, proves that the hatred of Henry Clay towards Mr. Adams could not be exceeded even by his present horrible aversion for Gen. Jackson. This evidence proves that at the very moment Mr. Clay was insinuating the “unintentional errors” of Mr. Adams,

the western papers were teeming with the most injurious charges against Mr. Adams, instigated by Mr. Clay's own tongue, or coming from his own hand!

During that investigation, Mr. Wickliffe, a devoted friend of Mr. Clay, asserted in his place, that Mr. Clay never did entertain any ill feelings towards Mr. Adams, in consequence of the transactions at Ghent; in proof of which he adduced Mr. Clay's declarations to himself; and he defied the friends of Gen. Jackson to prove the contrary, by the evidence of any respectable man. Samuel Daviess, Esq. then arose in his place, and stated that the gentleman himself had, by his speeches and votes in 1824, affirmed the truth of the charges against Mr. Adams; and he, moreover, produced a series of numbers, signed "*Wayne*," which were published in the "*Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*," at Cincinnati, Ohio. early in the fall of 1822, averring that they were written in Kentucky, sent to Mr. Clay, and by him directly or indirectly forwarded to the State of Ohio, for publication; the proof of all which he declared he had at hand. Mr. Wickliffe sunk to his seat, overwhelmed at this prompt exposure, and no man dared again to say that Mr. Clay had no objections to Mr. Adams on account of the Ghent negotiations. These numbers had passed through the hands of Mr. Clay, before the date of his publication accusing Mr. Adams of "unintentional errors," and were, at that very moment, republishing in the Kentucky papers. In these numbers he charges Mr. Adams with "an unfeeling policy," "which would crimson our fresh fields with the blood of our border brethren, and light the midnight forest with the flames of their dwellings"—with "giving our wives and children for *fish*, and bartering the blood of our citizens for *money*." The proposition to yield the navigation of the Mississippi, for the right of taking fish, contended for at Ghent by Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay declares to be a "fatal project," an "atrocious proposal," as "strange as it is alarming;" and that, but for his own exertions, "the seeds of war might now have been sowing, along our western borders, which, at no distant day, would

have produced an abundant harvest of tears and blood."

About the same time he wrote accusing Mr. Adams of "unintentional" errors, and declining a controversy with Mr. A. lest *his motives* should be misconstrued, he called on his friend, the Editor of the *Argus*, published at Frankfort, Kentucky, for the purpose of correcting an error relative to the principles assumed at Ghent, which had brought upon that editor and Mr. Clay the severe censure of Mr. Adams. He gave this friend a narrative of the proceedings at Ghent, and convinced him of his error. The editor then took up the publication of Mr. Adams, and reviewed it in a series of numbers addressed to John Quincy Adams. After these letters had been published in the *Argus*, Mr. Clay offered the Editor fifty dollars, towards defraying the expense of their republication in pamphlet form. Finally, one thousand copies were printed in Lexington, by Mr. Tanner, and Mr. Clay paid one hundred dollars—about one half the expense—out of his own pocket, as the publisher lately testified before the Senate of Kentucky. By this act, Mr. Clay adopted these letters, and made them his own. He made himself responsible for all the statements they contain—if he be not, in substance, their author. In these letters Mr. Clay charges Mr. Adams with "bearing false witness against his neighbor;" with "falsehood" in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi—almost with the massacre of one of his own "near connexions;" with "weighing dollars against blood;" with "falsehoods" relative to the extent of the fisheries, contested at Ghent; with "knowingly violating the very letter of his instructions;" with pursuing "a course wholly sectional;" with attempting to make the Western people pay an exclusive tax of rivalry, war and blood, for the security of those fishermen who frequent British waters;" with "manufacturing facts;" with asserting "opposite principles;" with gross "absurdities, inconsistencies and contradictions;" with injustice to his colleagues of the minority; with a policy promoting Indian wars and massacres; with "a deadly hostility, or a culpable indifference to the interests of

the Western country ;" with hostility to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States ; with " adding insult and mockery to abandonment and injustice ;" with being " an *artful sophist, a clumsy negociator, and vindictive man ;*" with " *VIEWS TOO ERRONEOUS, FEELINGS TOO SECTIONAL, and TEMPER TOO VINDICTIVE, for the Chief Magistrate of a free people !*"

It has been, moreover, proved on Mr. Clay, that another great objection urged against the elevation of Mr. Adams to the Presidency—an objection urged with untiring industry in the papers in the interest of Mr. Clay in Kentucky and Ohio—was the danger which threatened our institutions from a *perpetuation of the Cabinet succession*—that the uniform practice of electing the Secretary of State to the office of President, was assimilating our government to monarchy, in which each Chief Magistrate appoints his successor. The following extract from the Kentucky Reporter of July 15, 1818, a paper edited by Mr. Smith, a connexion and devoted friend of Mr. Clay, taken from among many others, proves the hostility of Mr. Clay to the line of " safe precedents :"

" Mr. Adams is designated by the President and his presses, as the heir apparent, the next successor to the Presidency. Since the principle was introduced, there has been a rapid degeneracy in the Chief Magistrate ; and the prospect of greater degeneracy is strong and alarming. Admit the people should acquiesce in the Presidential appointment of Mr. Adams to that high office ; who again will he choose as his successor ? Will it be Josiah Quincy, H. G. Otis, or Rufus King ? An aristocrat, at least, if not a TRAITOR, will be our portion."

Such was the bitter hostility of Henry Clay towards John Q. Adams up to the time he was excluded from the House of Representatives by the votes of the Electors as one of the three highest candidates—a hostility, certainly not less inveterate, not less unforgiving, than that now manifested by Mr. Clay towards Gen. Jackson—a hostility not only to the person, but to the principles of John Q. Adams. Yet, after Mr. Clay was himself excluded, in defiance of his own declarations and principles,

on the understanding that he should be Mr. Adams' Secretary of State, by his controlling influence over five of the Western States, he made Mr. Adams President !

Much has been written and published to prove and disprove a bargain between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. We do not consider it at all necessary to labor this point. In his zeal to divest himself of the charge, Mr. Clay has proved too much : one single fact demonstrates how indefensible is his case. While he has produced the affidavits and declarations of his friends to prove that he had decisively made up his mind to vote for Mr. Adams, long prior to the time, he has himself declared in his speeches and his conversations that as late as the latter part of December prior to the election, he had not made up his mind to vote for Mr. Adams ! The Hon. John Floyd of Virginia testifies that so late as the month of January, or the latter part of the preceding month of December, Mr. Clay made to him, in substance, the following declaration : " When I take up the pretensions of Mr. Adams, and weigh them and lay them down—then take up the pretensions of Gen. Jackson, weigh them and lay them down by the side of those of Mr. Adams—I never was so much puzzled in all my life, as I am to decide between them." Abundant other evidence is presented of the declarations of Mr. Clay, that he himself stood wholly uncommitted. In his address to his constituents, after the election, he informs them of the deliberation which it cost him to make up his mind, after he found himself excluded from the House of Representatives : he says, " I found myself transformed from a candidate before the people, into an Elector for the people. *I deliberately examined the duties incident to this new attitude, and weighed all the facts before me, upon which my judgment was to be formed or reviewed*" Yet the " Diary" of the Hon. William Plumer, jun. of this State, declares the opinion of Mr. Clay, as given to him, to have been unalterably fixed as early as the winter session of 1823-4 ! And Mr. Clay himself, notwithstanding his *grave deliberation*, now says his mind was decisively made up not to vote for Gen

Jackson, almost three months before the period of this deliberation !

The truth is, Mr. Clay, whether he had made up his mind or not, had determined that his influence in the election should go for his own personal advantage : he intended that all the candidates should understand that he "stood uncommitted" until he ascertained what was to be done for *him* ; and accordingly so soon as the sworn enemies, Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, met (according to letters then written to this State by Mr. Plumer, jun. to his father,) *the bargain was completed*, and Mr. Adams' friends then, and not till then, understood that the election of Mr. Adams was certain. Mr. Francis Johnson, one of the Kentucky representatives, asked by one of his constituents, how he came to vote for Mr. Adams ? answered that he thus voted to "*get Mr. Clay made Secretary of State.*" And Mr. David Trimble, another Kentucky representative, said on various occasions, as is proved by numerous witnesses, "*it was distinctly ascertained that Mr. Adams would make Mr. Clay Secretary of State, and that Gen. Jackson would not.*"

Resolutions instructing the Representatives of Kentucky to vote for Gen. Jackson, had passed the Legislature almost unanimously : Mr. Clay had received those instructions, and said that he stood uncommitted. Yet he voted for Mr. Adams against Gen. Jackson ; and when asked why he disregarded the voice of Kentucky, he has only to say, "*THE REASON IS MY WILL*"—as early as October, 1824, I had taken a "fixed resolution"—my resolution was "unalterably fixed"—I had come to a "fixed and unwavering decision" not "in any event" or "under any possible circumstances" to vote for Gen. Jackson !

The bargain between Adams and Clay is best proved by those events which are matter of notoriety—by the fact that Mr. Clay and his friends voted for the man whom Mr. Clay had characterized as possessing "views too narrow, feelings too sectional, and a temper too vindictive, for the Chief Magistrate of a free people," for the very office of Chief Magistrate—by the fact that he thus voted against the almost unanimous instructions of the Legislature of his own State, and that he was

rewarded for that vote by the man of "temper too vindictive" with the appointment of Secretary of State. The proof of corruption also exists in the fact, that Scott, of Missouri, who carried the vote of that State for Mr. Adams, and who had confessed that not one in twenty of the citizens of the State were friendly to his election, after he had lost a re-election by the people in consequence of that vote, was rewarded by a more lucrative appointment, that of inspector of land offices in the West, from the hand of Mr. Adams : proof also exists in the case of Cook, of Illinois, who also voted against the wishes of his State, and who, when he lost his election in consequence, was sent on a secret diplomatic errand, undoubtedly with a compensation much larger than that of representative, by the administration which his vote had made !* The bargain is further prov-

* It having been denied in the newspapers printed "by authority," that Mr. Cook received any such appointment, we subjoin the following extract from the report of the committee on retrenchment, made to the House of Representatives, May 15, 1828, and published among the official documents of Congress :

"In the appendix, it will be seen, that your committee received a communication apprising them, that the late Daniel P. Cook, late member of Congress from the State of Illinois, had received the sum of \$5,500 for some services connected with the foreign relations of the country. As no record appeared of this item on any of the accounts transmitted either from the Treasury or the Department of State, your committee called on the Secretary of State to inform them, if, in point of fact, Mr. Cook had been so employed, where they were to look for the settlement of the account. This call resulted in an overtare on the part of the Secretary of State, to make to the Committee "*a confidential communication* respecting this expenditure, which he neither admitted or denied." On full consideration, your committee decided to decline receiving a communication burdened with such an obligation, as they desired to make no report to this House, which might not be common to the people, whose trustees and servants we are.

"That Mr. Cook, after the adjournment of Congress in the Spring of 1827, received an appointment from the President, connected with our foreign intercourse ; that one thousand dollars were paid to him in advance, and in part compensation for his services ; that he actually embarked from New-York for Cuba, towards the end of April, (which it appears was the place of his public destination ;) that he arrived early in June at St. Louis, Missouri, on his return home ; that he was in exceedingly critical health and in doubtful condition to attend to any business, more especially, of a diplomatic character, requiring so much labor and anxiety ; that he did not understand the language of the people

ed by the fact that the election of Mr. Adams was ascertained even before the balloting took place, and was foretold in letters received in this State from members of Congress. It has also been charged by respectable testimony—and has never been denied by Mr. Webster, that he exhibited, as an inducement for the federalists to support Mr. Adams, a WRITTEN PLUDGE, *corrected by the hand of Mr. Adams himself*, that in case he should be elected President, the federal party should be provided for, as it has been provided for in the case of Rufus King and others. This pledge was exhibited to members of Congress and others by Mr. Webster: at least, he has been charged with the exhibition, and has never denied it. And Mr. Walsh, the devoted friend of Adams and Webster, has virtually admitted the existence of this written pledge.

Considering every circumstance—the previous hostility of Mr. Clay, and his subsequent appointment as Secretary of State—the protection given by the President to Scott and Cook—the pledge to Webster for the federalists;—if the case be not made out that the last Presidential election was brought about by “bargain, intrigue and management,” we conceive it to be difficult, nay, impossible, that any case of bargain can be made from evidence.

It is no matter of “special wonder” that Mr. Adams, and the friends of Mr. Adams, should have anticipated an opposition to an administration thus cor-

among whom he was sent, probably as a secret agent; that he must have been less than one month in Cuba on this service; that he was to receive, and probably has received, a further sum than the amount of the advance made him in remuneration for his services, and that this remuneration came out of the secret service fund, are facts which your committee think abundantly appear from the testimony in the appendix. They coerce, on their face, the solemn enquiry, why Mr. Cook, under such circumstances, was appointed a *secret agent*, and why he was paid out of this fund? Whilst your committee feel the force of this question, they feel it likewise their duty to leave it where they find it, with the remark that such payment, made from such a fund, *finds no sanction from the precedent of an agency to Cuba*, instituted during the Administration of Mr. Monroe, which was filled with eminent ability by Mr. Thomas Randall, and whose compensation was paid with specification, out of the contingent fund of foreign intercourse, and audited under the ordinary circumstances of official notoriety at the Treasury.”

ruptly formed. It was, in the very nature of things, to have been expected that his re-election would have been opposed by all who had not participated in the first choice; and such is the jealousy in this free country of the purity of our elections, that he ought to have anticipated that a very large portion of his own supporters at the polls would so have condemned the means by which he was, in the end, elected, as to withdraw their support. Trammelled with bargains and pledges as Mr. Adams was at the time of his election, he has deemed it to be expedient and necessary to pursue the same system to support a sinking cause. A course of electioneering, of attempts to operate on the State elections, has been adopted, which is believed to be without example in this free government. Professing to belong to no political party, this administration has used its official influence to purchase the support of the unprincipled of all parties. Where its adherents supposed themselves to be strong in point of numbers, proscription has been the order of the day: where they were few, the patronage of the men in power has been held out as an inducement to come over. Political apostates have been rewarded with public patronage; and those political knaves who, having opposed the election of Mr. Adams, afterwards became his flatterers, are now most warmly caressed.*

* To name one instance, the patronage of the administration, has been heaped upon John Binns. The printing of the Custom House, *by order from Washington*, was taken from a widow to a soldier of the revolution, and given to John Binns; and the same Binns has been appointed printer of the laws of the United States.

“BINNS’S PROFLIGACY.—Reader! If you wish a specimen of political profligacy and baseness, that has no parallel in the history of mean and unprincipled actions, read the following extract from the Democratic Press of 1815, and then contrast it with the daily sheet of the author of the extract, who is employed in heaping upon the head of ANDREW JACKSON every species of malignant abuse, denouncing him as a *murderer*, violating the quiet of his domestic retirement, and lacerating the feelings of the partner of his cares and toils, by the most infamous falsehoods; and after you have read the article, if you shall ask, why the author of it has become the reviler of the brave defender of his country, you will find the answer in two words—“*Presidential patronage.*”—Judas betrayed his master for thirty pieces of silver. This man

On a review of the course of Mr. Adams, it is not at all surprising that he has become a favorite of the federal party; for where has there been an instance of apostacy from democratic principles that has not recommended the apostate to the favor of the federalists? He is likewise endeared to that party by an adherence to the doctrines of his father—by his strong desire to consolidate power, that power which belongs to the individual States, in the hands of the federal government. The profuse expenditures of his administration also strongly recommend him to that party which, ever since 1800, has fed on corruption as its best aliment, and which looks on every encroachment on the rights of the people as a gain to its cause.

In the administration of Mr. Adams, we see the old principle of Aristocracy warring against the principle of Democracy. The public documents, the reports of the Treasury Department, prove that in the three first years of his administration, in a time of general peace, the expenses have exceeded, by more

lives upon the *crumbs* that fall from the executive table.

“From the Democratic Press, March 28, 1815.

EDITED BY JOHN BINNS.

“Before the attack on Orleans, the Federal Republican assailed the character of Gen. Jackson, but he soon found he was gnawing a file. The halo of glory which has surrounded this distinguished CHIEFTAIN, has struck dumb the slanderers, and he is, of all our warriors, first in the hearts of our countrymen. That he should be *envied* and *hated* by the *British*, is right and *reasonable*, but that any *Americans*, even *skulking*, *trembling cowards*, who, in the battle day never saw the enemy, but were safe under the shadow of Jackson’s valor and foresight, that such men with a dastardly and malignant spirit should, shrouded in darkness and at thousands of miles distant, attempt to assassinate the fair fame of Gen. Jackson, may be permitted to excite some wonder. But Gen. Jackson repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. He is a *republican*, and *therefore* must be vilified. “Be thou as pure as snow, as chaste as ice, thou shalt not escape calumny.”

“We have avoided, as far as duty would permit, any remarks upon the federalists who held distinguished commands in the army; but our forbearance and that of the Republicans generally, appears to be attributed to any thing rather than a generous contempt for men who reflected so little honor on the military character of the nation. The remark is now extorted from us, but it is as true as the bravery of Gen. Jackson is indisputable:—*Every glorious military event of the war, whether of attack or defence, was achieved under the command of a Republican officer.*”

than EIGHT MILLIONS of dollars, the expenses of the last three years of Mr. Monroe. (See Note C.) If it be asked how this money has been expended; as a sample, it may be answered—large sums have been paid to favorites and dependents, for which adequate services have not been rendered: witness, more than \$5000 paid, contrary to law, to John A. King for about sixty days service—\$1,940 paid to J. H. Pleasants, one of Mr. Adams’ editors, for carrying despatches to Buenos Ayres when he never went—\$1,205 paid to Mr. Clay’s son for carrying a packet to Mexico, when the service would have been as well done for \$200—\$2,388 extra paid the Attorney General for attending to certain law business of the United States during five months, at the same time his salary of \$3,500 was going on—\$1000 paid to prepare for making pictures of John Q. Adams to send among the Indians. This is barely a sample of the manner in which the contingent and other expenses in nearly every department have been improvidently enlarged. The constitution has been greatly warped, if not expressly violated, for the purpose of catching the opinions of different districts or particular States, and sending swarms of government officers, charged with the prosecution of local improvements, with the government funds, and having also a special charge of the votes of the people.

During this administration, the President has asserted that he alone had the right, without the consent of the Senate, to institute foreign missions; and under him missions have been attempted, and favorites appointed on those missions, which experience has condemned, and the policy of the country has forbidden.

During this administration, while the Heads of the Departments, particularly the Secretary of State, have been travelling the country, making electioneering harangues, as if determined sooner to “annihilate heaven and earth than fail of carrying their point,” the public interests have been grossly neglected; an important trade with the colonies of England and France in the West Indies has, in one case, been destroyed, and in the other endangered

by over-diplomacy in the one instance, and utter neglect in the other.

During this administration, whilst a great public question (the Tariff,) has been perverted to political uses, and very large and exclusive pretensions set up for political effect, that great subject has been neglected in the official recommendations of the President, and has been voted against by some of his immediate political and local friends and supporters.

During this administration, its friends and abettors have incessantly attempted to array the prejudices and the worst passions of the people of the North, against their brethren of the South, by repeating the old epithets of "slave representation," "negro votes," "southern aristocracy," "slave-holders of the South," "white slaves of the North," so often used by the federalists fifteen years ago—thus setting at defiance the sacred injunction of Washington to "frown indignantly on the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

During this administration, the most glaring attempts have been made to interfere in the local and State elections directly from Washington. Witness the journey of Slade, a Clerk in the employment of Mr. Clay, to Vermont, at the time of the last election of U. S. Senator in that State, receiving more than \$1000 as a compensation for distributing laws, *a part of which he never delivered*, while his pay as Clerk was going on at home. Witness the journeys to Kentucky of Mr. Clay himself on the eve of her elections, and his electioneering speeches before the people. Witness the thousands of misrepresentations and falsehoods, sent from Washington, under the official frank of members of Congress, before the late election in this State. Witness the official misrepresentations and falsehoods of the War Department, relative to the trial and execution of the six mutineers at Mobile during the last war, and the attempt to impose the lie on the people, that the time of service of those mutineers and deserters had expired. Witness the circulation, from Washington, of the most unfair and unjust attacks upon the character of Gen.

Jackson—the gross perversions of his views, and the most calumnious misrepresentations of his conduct, prepared under the eye of the Cabinet, profusely circulated by members of Congress, the confidential agents and advisers of the administration, who, for these purposes, have prostituted their official franks.

Having shewn, 1st, the objection to Mr. Adams on account of his political doctrines; 2d, on account of the manner of his election; and 3d, an account of the conduct of his administration; the question presents itself,—*Why is he entitled to the support of Republicans?* There are those, who contend that, being still a republican, Mr. Adams ought to be considered the republican candidate. To such, it is a sufficient answer to say that Mr. Adams bore testimony, in his first official message to Congress, against continuing the former political distinctions, and his policy has ever since been to break down the republican unity by creating local parties in the various sections of the Union. While he has professed a wish to do away the asperities of party, he has encouraged and countenanced the proscription and persecution of men of the old republican family: he has, in fact, merged all distinctions of principle, and made the question of opposition or support of his measures and his re-election, the dividing line between the parties. His partisans and retainers have allowed no freedom of opinion in discussing public men and measures—they have tolerated neither opposition nor neutrality, but required unequivocal approbation of all measures, right or wrong—they have revived the exploded doctrine that "the King can do no wrong;" and by a system of favoritism to flatterers and fawning sycophants, and of persecution of all others, they have attempted to force this doctrine on the people. It is evident, therefore, that as a republican, Mr. Adams has no claims on the old republican party for support.

Nor has he, on the score of personal pretensions, greater claims on the suffrages of the people, than thousands of others. He has been better paid for his services than any other man. In less than eight years he received about \$120,000, being at the rate of \$15,000

per year; and for services during two years, including the last year of the war, when he was uttering the reproach that our government was "feeble and penurious," he received from \$40,000 to \$65,000, much of it contrary to law, and in dereliction of patriotism. As he has received a higher compensation, so it has been alleged that his talents and qualifications are superior to those of other men. We look in vain to any acts of his present administration for evidence of those superior talents and qualifications. True it is, he received much of his education in a foreign land, near the courts of hereditary princes; true it is, that his father presented a bill of charges for a part of the education of his minor son while abroad, which was disallowed by Congress: but we, as republicans, cannot yield to the opinion that a princely education in and near the despotic courts of foreign governments, better qualifies the statesman and the patriot, than the plainer modes of education in our own country.

Would the friends of Mr. Adams claim for him support as the republican candidate, why do they condemn the republican usages in electing a republican President? Why do they call, in aid of his re-election, the support of the enemies to republican principles? It cannot be pretended that at any time Mr. Adams has been the favorite of any considerable portion of the republican party out of New-England; and whatever may have been the case previous to the last election, it will not now be pretended that he is the choice of the republicans of New-Hampshire. With all the array of sectional prejudices which has been brought to bear on this question, it must be admitted that not one republican voter in six, in this State, now favors the election of Mr. Adams. Heretofore it has been deemed factious in the minority of any party to unite with the opponents of that party to defeat the voice of a majority: the punishment of all unprincipled men has awaited those who have assisted to "divide and conquer" by means like these. The public indignation has long pointed at those who, by treachery, have wounded their own cause in the house of its friends. The "republican friends of Mr. Adams," if, indeed, there be any

republicans left in this State who are still determined to adhere to him, must either admit that their conduct is factious in supporting a candidate against the wishes of a large majority of the republican party; or, waiving all pretensions as republicans, they must identify themselves with that party now supporting Mr. Adams in this State, which has always been opposed to republicans. And if the doctrine of amalgamation which is now so fashionable with the Adams party, be indeed adopted—if there be now no difference either in the *principles* or the *merits* of those who were formerly designated by the names of federalists and republicans—why continue to claim as a merit that a candidate for office has been formerly a republican? why do federalists keep in the back ground, and put forward before the public none but those formerly called republicans? why did the administration party, whose meetings before the last election were composed of at least four-fifths federalists, nominate a ticket for Governor, Counsellors and Senators, exclusively of the men who had acted with the republicans? why do the federalists make an array of republican names as the supporters of Mr. Adams in this State, and in all cases, where they can be found, elect delegates to the Adams Conventions, men who call themselves republicans? If there is no difference in the parties, why do *they* make the distinction? If they do not consider there is still a difference, why do they make a difference in the selection of their candidates? Base and degrading must be that duplicity, that hypocrisy, which, while it insists on the oblivion of former party distinctions, keeps up those very distinctions, doing voluntary penance to the principles it hates by nominating only those men as candidates for office, who formerly professed the doctrines hated, but are now ready to become traitors to those doctrines, to conciliate the favor of their former opponents! Such is the present degraded condition of the party adhering to the fortunes of John Q. Adams—nay, such is the double degradation to which Mr. Adams himself is reduced!

The shameless effrontery with which men, high in office, have exercised not

only their individual influence, but the influence of their official patronage to control the State elections, finds no parallel in this country. The conduct of Henry Clay, the first Cabinet officer of President Adams, having been as barefaced and shameless, as it is alarming and revolting to the friends of free elections, challenges the public reprobation. It has been urged by his friends that the arduous duties of his office have affected his health. If so, there is the less excuse for his conduct; for it may, in truth, be alleged, that his electioneering efforts alone would have been sufficient for the labors of any one man. Indeed we have good reason to believe that the subject of the next election has almost exclusively occupied his attention. Why was the British trade with the West-Indies lost to the United States—lost, too, purely from neglect, because the Executive has since offered to take the precise terms proffered by the British government? It was lost, because Mr. Clay, after a minister had been appointed, instead of taking a little time to write his instructions, was spending that time in making electioneering harangues at barbecue dinners to influence the elections in Kentucky. Mr. Clay has pursued his system of electioneering with an “ardor, an art, and a skill” hitherto unprecedented: he seems determined “rather to annihilate heaven and earth, than fail in carrying his point.” His most extraordinary effort, was the last of which the public have any account, to wit: his dinner speech at Baltimore; in which he whose very life forbids the idea of morality and religion—he who deliberately attempted, even since he held his present office, to take the life of a Senator, for the exercise of the liberty of speech guaranteed by the Constitution—publicly invokes the Deity, and puts up the prayer: “If, indeed, we have incurred the Divine displeasure, and it be necessary to chastise this people with the rod of His vengeance, I would humbly prostrate myself before Him and implore His mercy to visit our favored land, with WAR, with PESTILENCE, with FAMINE, with any scourge other than *military* rule, or a blind and heedless enthusiasm for mere *military* renown”!

In this mixture of shocking impiety and madness, it is but too plain that Mr. Clay's objection to Gen. Jackson now, has the same moving cause as had his hostility to Mr. Adams prior to the latter part of 1824—it is HIMSELF, and not his country, that called forth his vehemence and zeal. In the anticipated failure of Mr. Adams and himself, he sees the triumph of the People over the cause of the unnatural and unholy Coalition; he sees his own prospects, his only hope of arriving at the highest office in the Republic in his own marked line of “safe precedents,” forever blasted. But

“Is there not some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man”
who would rather that any curse—that even the three direst calamities that can be named, should fall on his whole country, than that he should fail to carry his point!

It was Mr. Clay, personally, who first raised the outcry of “Military Chieftain,” as applied to the candidate of the people—it was Mr. Clay who was foremost in creating an alarm: and it is Mr. Clay and his creatures who have attempted not only to strip the hero of his laurels, but have conjured from the abodes of infamy, by all the ingenuity of fraud and falsehood, the materials to deceive and alarm the people. Therefore are we, on this occasion, justified in naming the most formidable, the most persevering, the most bitter and vindictive enemy of Jackson.

The term “Military Chieftain” will apply to any civilian as well as to Gen. Jackson. There is something due to him on the score of military renown; but, like WASHINGTON, more is due to JACKSON, that he is an honest man, an inflexible patriot and republican, a man of sound and ripe judgment, of excellent discrimination, and of practical knowledge of the genius and spirit of our free institutions, than to any mere military exploit. Who can fail to admire the honest soldier, who has fought the battles of his country, whether in poverty or affluence? Is there any danger that these shall have too much of our sympathy? Is there danger of him who, regardless of life and property, has fought and bled for the liberties

of his country, that he will turn traitor to the very freedom and independence he has assisted to establish? Rather should we not suspect the patriotism of the mere civilian, who, forever fed and pampered on the public treasury, has yet never been satisfied with the quality or the amount of the feeding? Shall we reject, as a dangerous "Military Chieftain," him who fed upon acorns, who pledged his whole estate, his own life, for his country when that country was in danger; and prefer him who, while his country was bleeding at every pore, was receiving double outfits and salaries, and at the same time uttering the reproach, that our government was "feeble and penurious"?

The character of Gen. Jackson is not such as to bear comparison with that of any dangerous "Military Chieftain." The genius of our Constitution, not less than the intelligence and virtue of the people, which constitute the stamina of that Constitution, forbid the idea of danger from any military man. The President, in no case, personally leads our armies; and if he did lead them, they are a body of enlightened freemen not less interested than all others to preserve our civil institutions. If the muskets could be wrested from the hands of our yeomanry, as they have been under despotic governments—if, after they are thus wrested, the command, even of so small a standing army as twenty thousand men should be given to any man—there would be more real danger of that man, than there ever can be of a President of the United States, surrounded as he must be with all those counteracting checks which cannot fail to foreclose every avenue to encroachment on the people's rights.

But it is not military men who have been the most dangerous men: it is true, before the light of knowledge was extensively diffused, military men have been usurpers: A Bonaparte has trodden over the liberties of mankind; but it was such "practised statesmen" as Mirabeau, and Danton, and Marat, and Robespierre who "destroyed the democratic party" in France, by "joining with it and urging it on" in headlong enthusiasm, till the people became sick of self-government and ready to yield

it into the hands of a "Military Chieftain" as the only means of safety. So in this country, there is more danger to our civil liberties from the artifices of one such man as John Q. Adams or Henry Clay, ready to stretch the Constitution to any dimensions, so it may suit their purposes of patronage; ready to seize on any precedent as a pretext, and to do any violence to right and justice, even on mistaken precedents; than from the combined efforts, in that capacity, of all the military men that have lived, now live, or will live in this country for a century.

But our object is not simply to present a question of individual preference in the choice of candidates for President. It is to prevent the recurrence in the next election of that state of things, which, at the last election, took the choice of President from the hands of the people, and placed it in the hands of a minority of a House of Representatives, scarcely one in twenty of whom were chosen by the people with a view of being called upon to decide that question. It is important that we have a good man and a sound patriot to be our Chief Magistrate; but it is more important that the man, whoever he may be, should be the choice of the people. It has been the constant object of the few, the vindictive Aristocracy, to frustrate the wishes of the people; and especially of that portion of the people which, in trying times, rallies under the standard of republicanism. This party now knows that ANDREW JACKSON, as was THOMAS JEFFERSON in the great contest of 1800, is the candidate of the Republican party; and hence the desire to amalgamate with the Aristocracy a sufficient number from the republican ranks, to place the power in their hands. Hence the desperate efforts of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster and their friends, to destroy old political distinctions, inviting men of all parties to their standard, calling in the aid of sectional prejudice, and on all unprincipled men, to form an union assimilating to that formed by Aaron Burr twenty-eight years ago.

Despairing of all means to prevent a choice, as was prevented four years ago, and aided by the immense means

and patronage in their hands, the most daring and desperate efforts have been made, are now making, and will continue to be made by the Coalition, to prevent the election of ANDREW JACKSON. Believing that the great mass of the people cannot be corrupted—believing that calumny has already done its worst, and that deception is fast passing away—believing that the character of Andrew Jackson as an honest man, as a pure and incorruptible patriot, as a prudent, discreet and sagacious statesman, cannot be shaken—knowing that a great majority of the people are firmly attached to the principles of the revolution—we have full faith that the cause of the people, the cause of truth and freedom, WILL PREVAIL.

WILLIAM BADGER, *President.*

FRANCIS N. FISK, *Secretary.*

THOMAS E. SAWYER, } *Assistant Secretaries.*
DUDLEY S. PALMER, }

Concord, June 12, 1828.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE ELECTORAL TICKET.

[*Election first Monday of November, 1828.*]

JOHN HARVEY, of Northwood,
BENNING M. BEAN, of Moultonboro',
WILLIAM PICKERING, of Concord,
JESSE BOWERS, of Dunstable,
AARON MATSON, of Stoddard,
JONATHAN NYE, of Claremont,
STEPHEN P. WEBSTER, of Haverhill,
MOSES WHITE, of Lancaster.

APPENDIX.

(Note A. p. 14.)

It is well known that the Democratic Press is now resorted to as the organ of the coalition prints. The National Intelligencer has descended to vouchsafe for its credibility, and the National Journal is ready to certify to its statements. That paper, during the late canvass, was opposed to the election of Mr. Adams, and published the following :

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' POLITICAL INTEGRITY.

"During the pendency of the last Presidential election, which resulted in an infamous intrigue and unprincipled *Coalition*, against the will and rights of the people, a writer in the American Statesman, printed in Mr. Adams' native state, Massachusetts, made in an article signed "One of the People," a most serious charge against it. This charge was in the following terms :

"In the spring of 1807, he presided at the Federal Caucus, which nominated CALEB STRONG, (of BULWARK memory,) for Governor, in opposition to the other candidate.—About the same time, at the table of an illustrious citizen, now no more, he lamented the fearful progress of the democratic party, and of its principles, and declared that "He had long meditated the subject, and had become convinced, that the only method by which the democratic party could be destroyed, was by joining with it, and urging it on with the utmost energy to the completion of its views, whereby the result would prove so ridiculous and so ruinous to the country, that the people would be led to despise the principles, and to condemn the effects, of democratic policy, and then (said he,) *we may have a form of government better suited to the genius and disposition of our country, than the present constitution.*"

"Some of the guests who heard that declaration, and have frequently repeated it, are still living. Let the *kennel* presses, therefore, take care how they deny its authority."

This charge having been made, the *National Journal*, as it was generally understood edited by Mr. Adams, at that time, and then just established to electioneer for him, attempted a denial; but, in what manner was this attempt made? It was not done with the frankness of honesty and the boldness of innocence. It was not denied that witnesses could be produced to prove this charge against Mr. Adams. But a feeble, impotent attempt, by way of laying an anchor to the windward, and denoting the consciousness of guilt, was made to argue against its probability. However, the Statesman and the other papers who had repeated this charge, were called upon for their authority, about the time that the battle was over. Horatio Townsend,

Esq. a gentleman of character, the Clerk of the Judicial Court of the state, for the county of Norfolk, and the neighbor and friend of Mr. Adams, was named as one, who had heard these declarations, and had often related them. It was also stated by the editors of the Statesman, that they had been informed that these declarations were made at the table of the late Chief Justice Parsons, then the great leader of the Federal party in Massachusetts.—What was the next step to this business? Mr. Townsend was a friend of Mr. Adams, disposed to do every thing, which, in conscience, he could do, to help his cause, and he gives his certificate or affidavit, which was published in vindication of Mr. Adams' innocence. Here it is :

"Norfolk, ss. } DEDHAM, Nov. 6th, 1824.

"I, Horatio Townsend, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, and of the Court of Common Pleas, &c. for this county, having this day heard read to me, the article in the American Statesman and City Register of this date, headed "Explanatory," hereby make solemn oath, have no recollection of ever having dined at the table of the Honorable Theophilus Parsons, in company with Mr. John Quincy Adams, nor do I believe that I ever did, nor do I recollect or believe, that I ever met Mr. Adams in company with the late Chief Justice Parsons at any time subsequent to my leaving Mr. Parsons' office, as a student, in the spring of 1783.

HORATIO TOWNSEND."

Now, in the name of common sense, what does this testimony of Mr. Adams' own witness amount to? Does he deny that he ever heard his friend, Mr. Adams, make these declarations? No. He makes no such denial; but contents himself merely with saying that he does not recollect dining at Judge Parsons' table with Mr. Adams, or meeting Mr. Adams in company with Judge Parsons for a long period of time. This is the head and front of this affidavit; and make the most of it, it only renders it a little uncertain whether these declarations were made at the table of Judge Parsons, or that of some other Federal leader, with whom Mr. Adams was at that time in close communion, conspiring the destruction of the Republican cause. If Mr. Townsend, who was so ready to give this affidavit on the very day that he first learned that he was named as a witness to these declarations, could, consistently with truth, have denied that he heard Mr. Adams make them, would he not have done so? Every man of common sense answers this question. John B. Derby, Esq. a Counsellor at Law, of Norfolk, and son-in-law of Mr. Townsend, and the Hon. James Richardson, a Counsellor at Law of that County, also gave the following affidavit and certificate, which were published :

AFFIDAVIT.

"I, John B. Derby, of Dedham, late of Medfield, in the county of Norfolk, of lawful age, testify and say, that one evening in the summer of 1820, being at the house of Horatio Townsend, Esq. of Dedham, conversing with said Townsend on the political character of John Quincy Adams, and objecting to Mr. Adams on the ground of his desertion of Federal principles, said Townsend asserted, that *Mr. Adams was in heart a federalist, although acting with the democratic party*; and for proof thereof, stated, that he (Mr. Townsend,) being, many years before, in company with Mr. Adams and other distinguished Federalists, previous to Mr. Adams' political conversion, I think at the late Chief Justice Parsons', Mr. Adams speaking of the increasing power of the Democratic party, used in substance, the expressions attributed to him by "*One of the People*," published in the *State-man* of July last. Afterwards, in the spring, I think, of 1822, the said Townsend being at my house, in Medfield, on my again introducing the discussion of the same subject, repeated to me the same declarations of Mr. Adams' in similar language. That John Quincy Adams made such observations, I do not know, but I was constrained to believe that he made them, by the frequent and confident assertions of Mr. Townsend. That Mr. Townsend said in substance what I have here stated, is confirmed by the Hon. James Richardson, who says that on hearing the extract from "*One of the People*" read to him, he immediately recollected having heard Mr. Townsend so express himself in conversation once at said Townsend's house, and also at his office, and that it occurred to him before he [Mr. R.] knew that he was designated as one of those to whom the above statements of Mr. Townsend were addressed.

JOHN B. DERBY."

The pieces signed "*One of the People*," are written with so much talent, it is hardly necessary for me to add, I am not the author.

"*Norfolk, ss. Nov. 8, 1824.*

"Then the above-named John B. Derby declared, on oath, that the above statement, subscribed by him was true.

ERASTUS WORTHINGTON,
Justice of the Peace."

On the back of the affidavit is the following certificate.

"DEDHAM, Nov. 8th, 1824.

"I have read the part of the within affidavit which relates to myself, and declare it to be substantially correct.

JAMES RICHARDSON."

This is the evidence; and in the court of common sense, where the people are the judges, its effect is irresistible. If it needed confirmation, it may be found in John Quincy Adams' Inaugural speech, where he covertly denounced the Democratic party, and its ties and its badge, his appointment of Rufus King, a minister of his father in the reign of terror, to the Court of St. James, in his speedy re-

lapse to his *early faith*, the most dangerous doctrines of the Federal party, in Josiah Quincy's exulting toast at a feast in honor of his *shameful elevation* to the Presidency, against the will of the people—"THE POLITICAL REGENERATION: *those who fell with the first Adams, rise with the second*," and Mr. Adams' speech in Faneuil Hall, in Boston. In that speech, Mr. Adams pronounced this same Josiah Quincy, who moved without a single vote to support his own, the impeachment of Thomas Jefferson; who threatened on the floor of the House of Representatives, that N. England must have her way, *peaceably if she could, forcibly if she must*; who was the author of the infamous resolution of the senate of Massachusetts, lately expunged from the records as a disgrace to the state, that *it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice in our glorious victories during the late war*; who, three years since, in the same place, the cradle of liberty, at a public meeting, to aid the election of the *Hartford Convention* candidate, for Governor, declared the Democratic party, to be "*THE SCUM OF THE POT*;" *to be the worthy representative* of the Josiah Quincy of the revolution. SO MUCH FOR JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' POLITICAL INTEGRITY.

(Note B. p. 14.)

Letter of John Quincy Adams, addressed to Levitt Harris, Esq. Charge d'Affairs of the United States, St. Petersburg.

Ghent, 16th Nov. 1814.

DEAR SIR,

I have just now the pleasure of receiving your favor of 14-26 October, and am happy to learn from yourself, the confirmation of your recovery; of which, and of your illness, I had a few days since been informed by a letter from my wife.

Near the close of the month of August, it was our expectation that the negotiation here would have terminated in a very few days. It soon after became apparent that the intention of the British government was to keep it open, and to shape its demands according to the course of events in Europe and in America. The policy still continues to pervade the British cabinet. Nothing decisive is yet known to them to have occurred either at Vienna, or in the other hemisphere, and accordingly they temporize still. Unless something should happen to fix their wavering pretensions and purposes, it will belong to the American government alone to bring our business to a point. This on their part would certainly be an honorable and spirited course of conduct, and I should have no doubt of its being pursued, if THE DESIRE OF PEACE WERE NOT PARAMOUNT TO EVERY OTHER CONSIDERATION.

The occurrences of the war in America have been of a diversified nature. Success and defeat have alternately attended the arms of both belligerents, and hitherto have left them nearly where they were at the commencement of the campaign. It has been

on our part merely defensive, with the single exception of the taking of Fort Erie, with which it began. The battles of Chippewa and of Bridgewater—the defence of Fort Erie, on the 15th of August, and the naval action upon Lake Champlain on the 11th of September, have redounded to our glory as well as to our advantage—while the loss of Washington, the capitulations of Alexandria and of Washington County, Massachusetts, and of Nantucket, have been more disgraceful to us than injurious. THE DEFENCE OF BALTIMORE HAS GIVEN US LITTLE MORE TO BE PROUD OF THAN THE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST IT HAS AFFORDED TO OUR ENEMY. PREVOST'S RETREAT FROM PLATTSBURG HAS BEEN MORE DISGRACEFUL TO THEM THAN HONORABLE TO US, AND WELLINGTON'S VETERANS, THE FIRE EATER BRISBRANE AND THE FIRE-BRAND COCKBURN, HAVE KEPT THE RAWEST OF OUR MILITIA IN COUNTENANCE, BY THEIR EXPERTNESS IN THE ART OF RUNNING AWAY. The general issue of the campaign is yet to come, and THERE IS TOO MUCH REASON TO APPREHEND THAT IT WILL BE UNFAVOURABLE TO OUR SIDE.

Left, by a concurrence of circumstances unexampled in the annals of the world, to struggle alone and friendless against THE WHOLE COLOSSAL POWER OF GREAT BRITAIN—fighting in reality against her for the cause of all Europe, with all Europe coldly looking on, basely bound not to raise in our favor a helping hand, secretly wishing us success, and not daring so much as to cheer us in the strife, what could be expected from the first furies of this unequal conflict, but disaster and discomfiture to us. DIVIDED AMONG OURSELVES MORE IN PASSIONS THAN INTEREST, WITH HALF THE NATION SOLD BY THEIR PREJUDICES AND THEIR IGNORANCE TO OUR ENEMY, WITH A FEEBLE AND PENURIOUS GOVERNMENT, WITH FIVE FRIGATES FOR A NAVY, AND SCARCELY FIVE EFFICIENT REGIMENTS FOR AN ARMY, HOW CAN IT BE EXPECTED THAT WE SHOULD RESIST THE MASS OF FORCE WHICH THAT GIGANTIC POWER HAS COLLECTED TO CRUSH US AT A BLOW?

This too is the moment which he has chosen to break through all the laws of war acknowledged and respected by civilized nations. Under the false pretence of retaliation Cochrane has formally declared the determination to destroy and lay waste all the towns on the seacoast which may be assailable. The ordinary horrors of war are mildness and mercy in comparison with what British vengeance and malice have denounced upon us. We must go through it all.—I trust in God we shall rise in triumph over it all:—but the first shock is the most terrible part of the process, and it is that which we are now enduring.

The Transit will probably sail about the beginning of next month from Bordeaux. Your dispatches by Mr. Forbes will go in her, if we get them in time. I have

heard nothing from Count Nesselrode. The Congress at Vienna has scarcely yet opened:—but all the important arrangements are made, and there is no doubt that the termination will be pacific.

I am, with regard and consideration, dear Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(Note C p 22.)

Extract from the speech of Hon. John S. Barbour, made in the House of Representatives during the late session.

"It is a fact, susceptible of the plainest demonstration, that the disbursements of public money under like circumstances, and for the same objects of expenditure, by the present administration, have exceeded all former example. And it is not upon untenable ground that I make this opinion. Arithmetical calculations, resting upon responsible reports from the Treasury Department, carry my mind to this confident conclusion. Whatever causes may arise for diversity of opinion upon other topics of inquiry, none can here exist; for the estimate of dollars and cents, by the plain use of figures, cannot conduct us into error, without the certainty of immediate and palpable detection. In the view that I took of this subject, my attention was fixed to the comparative estimate of appropriation and expenditure for the three years of this administration, compared with that of the three years immediately preceding it; and it presents the following results:

Current Expenditures, exclusive of Military Pensions and the payments to the Public Debt:

1822,	\$7,879,444 11
1823,	8,003,566 67
1824,	8,939,449 56

Total, \$24,822,459 74
Current Expenditures, exclusive of Military Pensions and the payments to the Public Debt:

1825,	\$10,249,550 13
1826,	11,505,702 44
1827,	11,752,515 61

Total, \$33,507,767 18

Deduct three years amount of preceding Administration, 24,822,459 74

Showing an increase of disbursement in the present administration, of \$8,685,307 44

"I have omitted any notice of the charges upon the Treasury for the public debt and military pensions, because the payments to these objects cannot, by any dialectic ingenuity, be made the theme of eulogy to any administration. The extinguishing action of the sinking fund upon the public debt, cannot be set down to the credit of the Executive; it results from pre-existing law. The excess of accumulation in the surplus fund,

by operation of the same law, disgorge itself into the sinking fund, and becomes in like manner sacred to the public engagement. The appropriations for military pensions, I have also excluded, because this is a disbursement not likewise resting upon definite and uncontrollable causes, and is in no instance to be affected by administrative prodigality or economy."

From the United States' Telegraph.

In the Richmond Enquirer of the 23d of May, there is a letter of great length, over the name of Mr. Ichabod Bartlett. An allusion to so much of my remarks in the House of Representatives as touched the public expenditure is made in the following terms: "How much of the speech referred to, was left 'uncontradicted,' I do not say, but very much, which was stated by the gentleman, upon his resolution, concerning the disbursing officers of the government, seemed to me, so far as records could have done it, to have been very fairly disproved."

I read this production with sincere regret; not only for the apparent discourtesy of manner towards me, but for the manifest unfairness which pervades it. Nor should I feel the obligation to reply to it, but that the notice which Mr. Rives has publicly bestowed upon Mr. Bartlett and his speech, has clothed both him and it, with an importance which may seem to demand it. What I did say, *was not, and cannot, be disproved.* The member from New-Hampshire did not bring to his aid in that discussion, any other "records" than some two or three acts of Congress. The estimates which I presented to the House in that debate, rest upon "irrefragable" evidence. The deductions submitted, were then, and still are, "incontrovertible."

I apprehend from a remark made the preceding day, that the accuracy of the views I intended to present, might be drawn into question; I carried with me into the House, the Treasury Reports; the replies of that Department to interrogatories, propounded by the Committee on the public expenditures; the several acts of Congress making appropriations for those years, embraced by the comparative investigation; and my own tabular statements drawn out of, and sustained by these documents.—These were read to the House, and particularly to the gentleman from New Hampshire, who was earnestly pressed to take the tables that I had prepared, or copies of them, with the official documents, that he might detect and expose any error, that the severest test might disclose. He was told that these estimates "challenged and defied his scrutiny." Mr. Bartlett did not then take up this proposition, and at this late day, in the last hour of the session, he has possessed the public with a long tissue of misrepresentation, elaborated with great art, and tinged with disingenuousness. It became my duty, as a member of the Committee on the Public Expenditures, to look into the Treasury disbursements. I examin-

ed those subjects with much care, and subjected the results to repeated inquiries. My own calculations, and those presented by Mr. Rives, I am confidently persuaded, will stand any fair scrutiny, however rigid, by which they may be tested. They are sustained by the evidence that I have mentioned; they are corroborated by the Report of the Committee upon Retrenchment; they are coincident with the tabular comparison, communicated by the Treasury department to the Committee of Ways and Means, and which was appended to the late report of that Committee—and lastly they are accurate and true, although contradicted by Mr. Ichabod Bartlett.

My purpose was to have said what I have written, upon the floor of the House of Representatives, in the presence of Mr. Bartlett, but at the instant of breaking up the session, leave to do so was withheld, and it was inconsistent with the orders of the House, to have done so, without leave. Duty and propriety demanded of me this early notice of the subject in the papers, and I was anxious that Mr. B. should be informed at once, of my intention to do so. Before the members left the Hall, I addressed the subjoined letter to Mr. Bartlett, and General Floyd's note shews why he did not receive it.

J. S. BARBOUR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

[Extract from the Report of the Com. on Retrenchment.]

It appears from the statements contained in this letter, (from the secretary of state,) that the expenditures of the state department, for the various objects entrusted to its management, were, during the three last years of the late administration, and the three years just elapsed of the present administration, as follows, to wit:

<i>Last administration.</i>		<i>Present administration</i>	
1822.	\$173,879 51	1825,	\$306,731 74
1823,	314,668 59	1826,	255,296 20
1824,	270,731 27	1827,	287,463 42
<hr/>		<hr/>	
\$759,279 34		\$849,491 36	
		<hr/>	
		759,279 34	
		<hr/>	

☞ Making the expenditure of the present exceed that of the last administration, by } \$90,212 02

From reference to the document, marked B. which accompanied, and is referred to in the secretary's letter, and from which his statements are compiled, it appears that, besides the contingent expenses of the department, and the general expenses of foreign intercourse, including the intercourse with the Barbary powers, and the relief and protection of distressed American seamen, there are included in the amounts given by him, as above, three other items, depending upon wholly different principles in regard to any discretionary control of the department over them, and which ought not, therefore, in the opinion of the committee, to enter into a comparison like that instituted by the secretary.

The three items alluded to are, the treaty with Spain of the 27th February, 1819, the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty of Ghent and the first article of the treaty of Ghent. These are subjects of expense growing necessarily out of the obligation of international compacts, and not to be affected, in any way, by the discretion of the executive or any of its officers. The first item, particularly, being the expense incident to what has been commonly called the Florida board of commissioners, whose existence and functions terminated under the last administration, and the whole burden of whose support, amounting to \$63,114 31, fell upon that administration, (excepting only the small sum of \$1,125, paid under the present,) cannot, it seems to the Committee, upon any principle of propriety, be brought into the comparison. Taking these items out of the comparison, the account, between the late and the present administration, in regard to disbursements, over which the state department has a discretionary control, will then stand thus :

	Last adminis.	Present admin.
The amounts stated above are	\$759,279 34	\$849,491 36
Deduct expenses under treaty with Spain; 6th and 7th arts. treaty of Ghent; and 1st art. do.	126,603 97	71,679 63
	632,675 37	777,811 73
		632,675 37

✂ Difference against Mr. Adams, \$145,136 36

This difference the committee believe to be the true result of a comparison made upon correct principles, between the late and the present administrations, as to the expenditures with which the state department is connected.

The committee will now advert to some views which the Secretary of State has presented in his letter, in relation to the appropriations for the service of that department. Although, in the comparison exhibited by him, of the expenditures of that department, under the late and present administration, he puts the year 1825 to the account of the present administration, yet, in the view presented by him of the appropriations for the service of the two administrations, he transfers the appropriations of 1825 to the account of the last administration. The appropriations

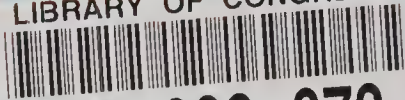
of 1825, however, were for the use of the present administration—they came to the hands of the present administration, and they have been expended by the present administration. In this view, the committee think the appropriations of 1825 ought clearly to be carried to the account of the present, and not of the last administration; and even if the question were, who is responsible for the justness and propriety of those appropriations, the committee are still of opinion that the same classification would be correct: for they find that the appropriations of 1825, for the service of the state department, were, in fact, made upon estimates furnished by the present Chief Magistrate, (then Secretary of State) contemplating and providing for the expenses of a new administration, of which there was every probability he was to be the head. Putting the year 1825 to the account of the present administration, the comparative statement of appropriations for the service of the state department, as collected from the document marked C. which accompanied, and is referred to in the Secretary's letter, will then stand thus:

1822,	\$239,450	1825,	\$336,050
1823,	154,500	1826,	350,932
1824,	309,350	1827,	290,550
	<u>\$703,600</u>		<u>\$977,532</u>
			703,600

✂ Difference against Mr. Adams \$273,132

The Secretary of State refers to the diminished amount of appropriations for the service of that department, during the present year, which, it seems, is only \$89,500. But it is proper to add that this *diminished appropriation* for the present year, does, by no means, imply a *diminished expenditure* during the present year. In addition to the sum appropriated, there are large amounts in the hands of the department, consisting of balances of former appropriations still applicable to the service of the present year, and as such included in the estimates for the support of the government during the present year. These balances, for the various objects under the control of the state department, are, given in the document marked C. (which has already been referred to as accompanying the Secretary's letter) and will be found to amount to the sum of 228,273 dollars, which, added to the sum of 89,500 dollars recently appropriated, forms an aggregate of 317,823 dollars at the disposal of the state department for the service of the present year.

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